

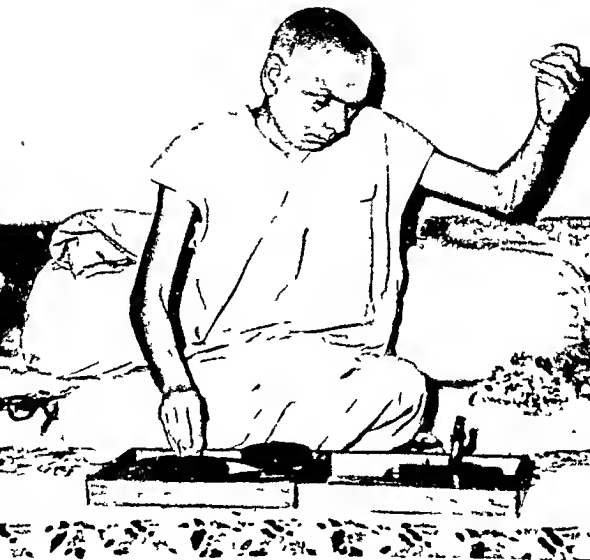
With Best Compliments

from

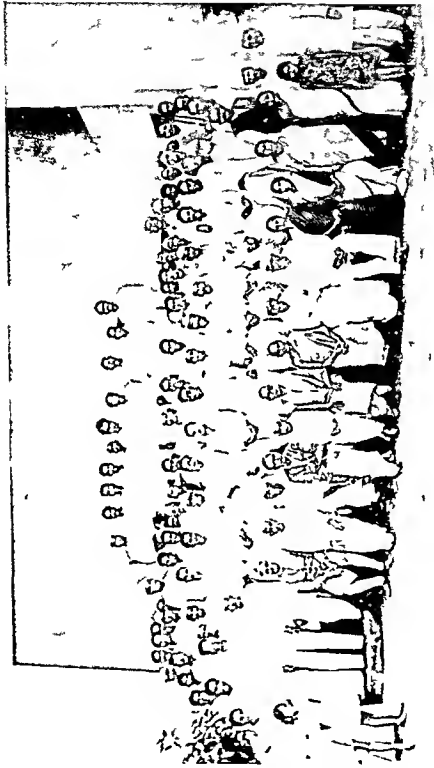
**Swami Ramananda Tirtha Shashtyabdipoorti
Celebrations Committee**

B 5 266 Sultan Bazar, Hyderabad-1 A P.

"Fearless champion of the dumb millions "



Many Happy Returns to you



Swamiji along with members of the Shashthyabhipoorti Committee from Telangana, Maharashtra, Karnatak on 3-10-63, Hyderabad.

COMMEMORATION VOLUME

presented to

POOJYA SWAMI RAMANANDA TIRTHA

on

his 61st birthday

by

the Shashtyabdipoorti Celebrations Committee

on 23-10-1963 at HYDERABAD, A. P.



B Ramakrishna Rao garlanding Swamiji on 3-10-63 on his 61st birthday



Vasudeo Naik with Ramakrishna Rao paying his respects to swamiji on 3-10-63 on his 61st birthday



Swamiji and Panditji with Late Praneshacharya, Jamalapuram Keshav Rao
and M Ramachandar Rao etc



Swamiji with Sardar Patel



Swami with Lal Bahadur Shastri, B Gopal Reddi, B Ramakrishna Rao and others



Swami with K M Munshi

Source of Inspiration

Swami Ramananda Tirtha is undoubtedly one of the most illustrious and extremely popular leaders the country has produced. His life of struggle, sacrifice and renunciation is a source of inspiration to hundreds of public workers in this part of the country. In the prime of youth, he renounced the world and became a sanyasin; but even more difficult than this renunciation was his voluntary retirement from active politics after having achieved all goals which he had set before himself while entering politics. Thus, he is not only a sanyasin in the traditional sense but also a political sanyasin—a class which is not very common to find.

Simple and unassuming, calm but very clear, Swamiji has a heart of gold which invariably goes out for the downtrodden masses and the ordinary workers in public life. He is amongst the very few personalities who are held in such universal esteem in this part of the country.

His numerous followers and admirers have decided to celebrate his 61st birthday in a manner befitting the great sacrifices and achievements of his long and arduous career. This Commemoration volume is being released on the occasion, on behalf of the Swami Ramananda Tirtha Shashtyabdipoorti Celebrations Committee. The contents of the volume will amply speak for themselves and give a panoramic view of Swamiji's variegated life and activity. The Committee wishes to place on record its gratitude to all the leaders and friends who have sent messages and contributed articles. Thanks are also due to Sri Kashinath Joshi, Sri V. H. Desai and Sri J. B. Upadhyaya for the invaluable help rendered by them in the preparation of this volume.

**Swami Ramananda Tirtha Shashtyabdipoorti
Celebrations Committee**



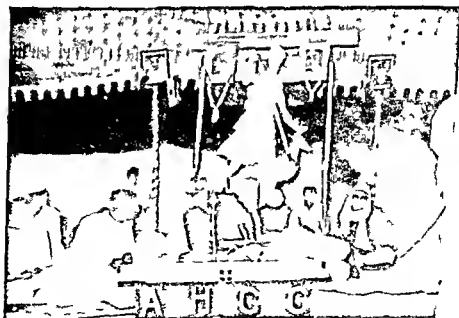
Swamiji with Vinobaji addressing a meeting



Swamiji with Krishna Murthy Rao
Nijalingappa and Dr Melkote at Delhi



Swamiji, Dr Melkote and Govindas Shroff at the Hyderabad Congress Session 1947



Swamiji discussing with Pranesacharya the general secretary of the Hyderabad State Congress

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पू० आचार्य विनोबा भावे का संदेश

“ लोक नागरी लीपी ”

जिल्हा:- डेकानल (ओडिसा प्रदेश)

दिनांक २३-९-१९६३

स्वामी रामानंद तीर्थजी की सप्ताब्दी-पूर्ति के उपलक्ष्य में एक अभिनंदन-ग्रंथ प्रकाशित किया जा रहा है, यह उचित ही है। स्वामीजी ने प्रत्यक्ष सन्यासी-जीवन से हमारे सामने एक आदर्श रखा है। “वसंतवत् लोकहीतं धरन्तः” ऐसा वर्णन सन्यासी-पुरुषों के बारे में शंकराचार्यजी ने किया है। शैक्षणिक, सामाजिक, राजनैतिक, रचनात्मक और सभी क्षेत्रों में स्वामीजी ने यया-शक्ति सेवा दी है, और आज भी दे रहे हैं। उनकी सन्यासी-वृत्ति दिन-ब-दिन उज्ज्वल होती रहे, और उन्हें पूर्ण जीवन प्राप्त हो, यही इस शुभ अवसर पर मेरी प्रभू से प्रार्थना है।

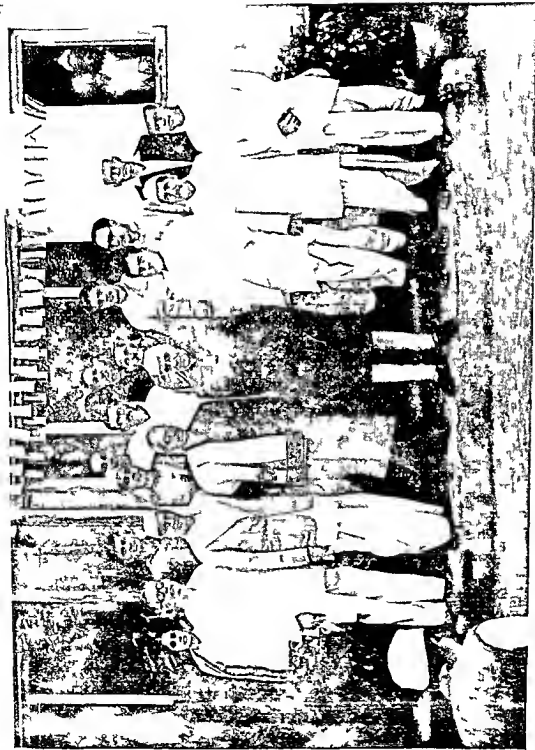
विनोबा का जय-जगत्.

SPEAKER, LOK SABHA
20, AKBAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI
2-9-1963

Dear Shri Ramakrishna Rao,

I have received your letter of the 26th August, 1963, intimating to me your decision to celebrate Sbashtyabdipoorti of Swami Ramananda Tirtha. It is a commendable effort and I hope the commemoration volume will be a source of inspiration for others to follow in patriotism and service to the country. I wish you all success in that.

Hukam Singh
Speaker, Lok Sabha




Swamiji and the working committee members of the Hyderabad State Congress with Panditji on his first visit after police action, to Hyderabad

RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,
NEW DELHI-4.

राष्ट्रपति भवन,
नई दिल्ली-4।

August 29, 1963

I have much pleasure in sending my
congratulations and best wishes to SWAMI RAMANANDA
TIRTHA on his sixtieth birthday. The country
remembers with gratitude his struggle for the
rights of the poor and the down-trodden, and I
wish him many more years of useful life.


~~(S. RADHAKRISHNAN)~~

प्रधान मंत्री भवन
PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

No. 2031-PMH/63

August 27, 1963

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

Your letter of the 26th August about the commemoration volume being issued on Swami Ramananda Tirtha completing sixty years of age. I am afraid it is quite beyond my capacity to find time to write anything worthwhile. All I can do is to send my good wishes, which I do.

Yours sincerely,

Jawahar Lal Nehru

Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao,
Chairman, Swami Ramananda Tirtha
Shashtyabdipoorti Celebrations Committee,
Hyderabad 1.



Swami ji with Prime Minister Nehru Shri Vaikunthlal V Mehta then Chairman All India Khadi & Village Industries commission discussing Ambar Chirkha efficiency at the time of Demonstration arranged by the Hyderabad Khadi Samiti on 25th October 1958

RAJ BHAVAN

JAIPUR

August 30, 1963

Although I can not claim to have more than a slight acquaintance with Swami Ramanand Tirtha, I have been following his activities for the last several years. He is one of the important followers of Swami Rama Tirtha. He is more known, however, for his political work in the old State of Hyderabad. The greater part of his life has been devoted to a struggle for the attainment of political rights for the people of the State and there can be no doubt that considerable successes crowned his efforts. His example of selfless sacrifice attracted towards him a band of devoted colleagues whose work is well known to all interested in the recent political history of the country. Quite obviously, the objectives for whose attainment Swamiji has been working all these years have now been more or less achieved since the country gained its Independence in 1947. Naturally the energies of these friends will now be turned into a constructive channel.

It should now be possible for Swamiji to pay a little more attention to the affairs of the Rama Tirtha Pratishtan with its head quarters in Varanasi. So far his important political work has not given him as much time as he would no doubt like to devote to the religious and spiritual mission of which Swami Rama Tirtha's name is a symbol. A man of dynamic personality, Swami Ramanand can certainly make the Ram Tirtha Pratishtan a powerful agency for the moral and spiritual uplift of the country. India stands very much in need of such work today.

(SAMPURNANAND)

Governor, Rajasthan

KERALA GOVERNOR'S CAMP
ERNAKULAM

14th September, 1963

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I have received your kind communication dated 26th August. I have known Swami Ramananda Thirta in his previous ashram also. He had great belief in the necessity of having a well organised Trade Union movement and he took part in it with great success. I have known him for almost three decades and his great sacrifices and sufferings in the cause of the people of Hyderabad and Telengana are well known and needs no repetition. He is one of those responsible, along with other friends like you, in securing political independence for the people of Hyderabad and later its integration as part of the Andhra State. His services will continue to be a source of inspiration to everyone not only in Andhra Pradesh but throughout India. I want him to finish his century so that the country may have the benefit of his inspiration and guidance.

With kindest regards,

(V. V. GIRI)

RAJ BHAVAN
BHOPAL
27th September, 1963

I am glad to know that the Shashtyabdipoorti celebrations of Swami Ramananda Tirtha are to be held on the 3rd October 1963. It was my good fortune to be connected at times with Swamiji's activities. They extended over a long period, both in the pre-Independence days and after India attained freedom.

Swamiji has been all along a saintly person devoted to the service of the people. In pre-Independence days, Swamiji carried on and led the movement for freedom in the Princely State of Hyderabad under conditions far more trying and difficult than in any other part of the country. After Independence, he played an equally prominent role in the task of consolidating the Nation. He is a devoted Congress worker. He was a Member of the Indian Parliament after attainment of freedom and as a Parliamentarian his views commanded respect from all sections. He was a fearless worker in the cause of the establishment of the States of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra. He is now devoting himself to the cause of education and rural uplift in Marathwada.

I heartily join in honouring Swamiji on the occasion of his completing 60 years and wish him long life and good health to continue his sacred mission of selfless service to the people.

(H. V. PATASKAR)
Governor, Madhya Pradesh,

9, BALLUPUR
DEHRA DUN
September, 1, 1963

It gives me very great pleasure indeed to join our numerous friends and colleagues in offering hearty felicitations and good wishes to Swami Ramananda Tirtha on the happy occasion of his 60th birth-day. In the South, an event like that is celebrated with particular joy and enthusiasm; and I have had occasion as Governor of Madras, to attend many functions where the head of the family on the attainment of this age, received greetings and congratulations from young and old alike, at a great get-together of friends and relatives.

It is true that the existence of a custom of celebrating the SHASTYABDI-POORTI of individuals, shows that but few attained this age in the earlier days. Now, however, the incidence of age has gone up, and we have larger number of persons of 60 and more, than we had before. It is a matter of particular joy when public persons despite all that they have gone through and suffered during the last many decades of our struggle for Freedom, have managed to survive the wreckage of time, and have attained the age of 60.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha had indeed a very difficult time in those days of trial and struggle when he fought for the liberation of the State of Hyderabad from autocracy and lead it to democracy, and for its final integration with the rest of the country. I was then at Karachi as our country's first High Commissioner after the tragic partition, in the newly formed Sovereign State of Pakistan, cruelly carved out of the living body of the common motherland. I therefore saw first-hand, the great excitement there over the events of Hyderabad which I myself followed with deep and anxious interest. Shri Ramananda Tirtha took a leading part in that, and we all honour him for it.

After the inclusion of the Marathwada area of the old Hyderabad State in Maharashtra, I had many opportunities of meeting Swami Ramananda Tirtha, and seeing his activities in varied fields of national endeavour—social, educational and political—in many parts of that area. I also felt happy that he continued to enjoy the respect and affection of the people there whom he had served so well. I should like on this occasion to express my earnest hope that the Swamiji will be spared long to us to carry on his good work, and that the people both of Andhra and Maharashtra, will receive his guidance in the still-more heavy tasks that lie ahead, for the consolidation of our Unity and the maintenance of our Liberty.

(SRI PRAKASA)

September 25, 1963

Dear Dr. Rao,

I am very happy to know that a Committee has been formed under your Chairmanship to celebrate Shashtyabdi-poorti of Swami Ramananda Tirtha. It would be presumptuous on my part to praise the role which Swamiji played in the political awakening of the Ex-Hyderahad State. He dedicated his life for struggle for freedom and political resurgence of the people of Hyderabad.

On this happy occasion I send my sincerest greetings and good wishes and wish Swamiji long and useful life ahead.

(Y. B. CHAVAN)

Minister of Defence.

SACHIVALAYA, BOMBAY 32

September 30, 1963

I am happy to know that Swami Ramananda Tirtha a veteran Congressman who guided the organisation in Hyderahad for a long period is completing 60 years on October 3, this year. It is in the fitness of things that a Committee with Dr. B Ramakrishna Rao, former Chief Minister of Hyderahad, as its Chairman has been formed to celebrate the 60th birthday of Swamiji and that a commemorative volume containing articles on various aspects of Swamiji's services to the organisation and the country is being brought out. I send my good wishes for the success of the commemorative volume and wish Swamiji many happy returns of the day.

(M. S. KANNAMWAR)

Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

FORT ST. GEORGE
MADRAS
September 8, 1963

Swami Ramananda Tirtha has played a notable part in the political life of Hyderabad. He is a man of great dynamism and the part he played in the crucial period of the history of the then Hyderabad will not be forgotten by the people. May he be spared for long so that his services may be available to the Andhra Pradesh in particular, and the country in general.

(K. KAMARAJ)
Chief Minister of Madras.

HYDERABAD
17-8-1963

Swami Ramananda Tirtha is a veteran leader of Telangana who fought many a freedom struggle. Sri Prakasam is Andhra Kesari. Swamiji can be compared very well with Sri Prakasam in his courage in facing the troubles. He has rendered yeomen service to the country. Friends who are celebrating Shastipurti of Swamiji must be congratulated. I wish the celebrations success.

(N. SANJIVA REDDY)
Chief Minister. (A. P.)

VIDHANA SOUDHA
BANGALORE-1,
11th Sept 1963

I am delighted to know that Swami Ramananda Tirtha's Shashtyahdipoorti will be celebrated shortly and that a Commemoration Volume would be brought out at the time of the celebrations

Swami Ramananda Tirtha dominated the political scene of the former Hyderabad State, both before and after Independence. He played a notable part in the country's freedom struggle and as President of the Hyderabad Provincial Congress Committee, he raised the prestige of the organisation in that State to heights that it had never attained before. Though politics and saffron robes may not always go together, Swami Ramananda Tirtha has proved as have one or two illustrious sons of India before him that the two are not necessarily incompatible. He is now a days playing a less active role in politics than before and has devoted himself to constructive work. But his prestige and influence remain undiminished. I deem it a privilege to join the countless throngs of his friends and admirers to wish Swami Ramananda Tirtha on his Shashtyahdipoorti Day many many more years of dedicated service to the country.

(S NIJALINGAPPA)
Chief Minister, Mysore

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

7, Jantar Mantar Road,

NEW DELHI-1.

September 17, 1963

I am happy to learn that Swami Ramananda Tirtha has completed his sixtieth year and that friends and admirers are celebrating his Sbashtyabdipoorti. I have great pleasure in associating myself with the celebrations. Swamiji has not only been a religious but a political force and has striven for the freedom of the country and has been responsible for political awakening to that part of the country. Swamiji's services have been varied. It would be fitting that his services should be recognised in a proper manner. I wish the celebration committee all success.

(D. SANJIVAYYA)

President.

JAIPUR

RAJASTHAN

2nd September, 1963

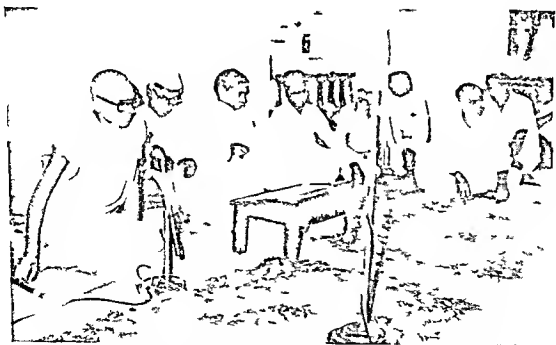
It has given me great pleasure to know that you are arranging for Shashtyabdipoorti celebrations. I pay my homage to Swami Ramananda Tirtha and send my good wishes for the success of the celebrations.

(MOHANLAL, SUKHADIA)

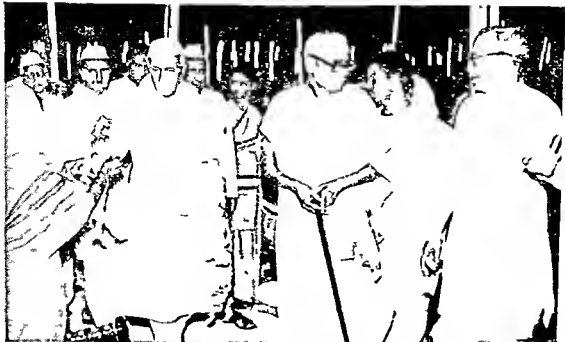
Chief Minister of Rajasthan.



Swamiji with Shri Y B Chowhan Defence Minister N Sanjiva Reddy
Chief Minister of A P and Shri P V Narasimha Rao and
others at Maharashtra Mandal Hyderabad



Swamiji with Jagannath Rao Chandrika general secretary A I C C and
others address ng the constructive worker s as Hyderabad



Swamiji with Panditji, Dhebarbhar and Lelej and others inspecting the
Ambar Demonstration, on 25-10-58 at Hyderabad



Swamiji with Sardar Jamalapuram
Keshav Rao

GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND
RAJGHAT
NEW DELHI-1
August 17, 1963

Shri Ramanand Tirth is a rare personality in that he renounced the world like a good Sanyasi of the traditional type and yet could devote himself to very hazardous and patriotic work of seeing that the then Hyderabad State was liberated from the clutches not merely of political bondage but also of feudalism of the worst type.

It is a matter not so much of congratulation for him for attaining his 60th year but it is a great honour for those who have undertaken these celebrations. He has given all of us an opportunity to pay our tribute to his varied achievements on this occasion.

I have known him at close quarters and in very difficult situations and trying circumstances. I have always found him bent on the success of the cause more than at anything else and free from the usual ambitions which are a weakness in ordinary men.

I learn that he has written out his reminiscences which few of us do but which are necessary for the education of the younger generation which has to be acquainted with the experiences of the older generation.

Let me hope that he lives long and what he writes is useful to those coming after him and that he has both leisure, energy and a sense of mission to give more of his time to thought as well as action for the good of the country.

(R R DIWAKAR)

Swami Ramananda Tirtha is completing his 60 years. A generation of men, youthful in the days of independence struggle, is aging. Most of us will in a few years have passed the barrier of 60 years – the age of pension by the civil service standards and the age of 'Sanyas' by the Indian standards. Swami Ramananda Tirtha is a 'Sanyasi' devoted to constructive politics. 'Sanyas' as defined by Gita in the case of a person who has still not reached the stage of self realisation is 'Sanvas' not of Karma, but the attachment to 'Karma'.

India is a laboratory of experiment on life based upon individuals desirous of achieving their ultimate goal. The ultimate goal may be limited or absolute or the ultimate goal may be confined to happiness for the family or the society. Gandhian era was the high water mark of such experiments in this Century. People in all walks of life dominated of course by best of motives, tried to assist in changing the nation's life as they tried to change their own lives.

Swamiji is one such specimen. His object was not merely confined to secure such external changes in the life of society, but the object was to change oneself and through such changes, change the society. This was the condition of Gandhian revolution. A person was called upon to undertake changes in his personal life before he was considered to be eligible for suggesting changes in the life of others. No change outside is possible through non violence except on the basis of personal example. Thousands and thousands of young men poured themselves into that struggle – the struggle to change their own lives and to affect the changes in the life around.

India's freedom is based upon that spiritual philosophy. If India wants to secure changes in her social conditions particularly on the basis of peace and non violence, India will have once again to go to the basis of all changes through personal example.

Kamraj has shown the way, but that way will have to be supplemented by personal efforts on the parts of elderly people who have lived through Gandhian revolution. They will have to undertake changes in their personal lives if they want to affect the changes outside. Swamiji's life is one such example. But there should be countless and there will have to be countless such examples.

Swamiji on the completion of 60 years has this task awaiting him. Let him be spared for long time so that he can contribute in that task also.

KHADI & VILLAGE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION
BOMBAY-56
30-8-1963

The public observation of the 60th birthday of Swami Ramananda Thirtha has a peculiar significance in the history of public life in Hyderabad. Hyderabad today is not what it was when Swami Ramanandji entered public life there. As a leader he moulded that public life. If the people of Hyderabad have now come into their own, credit for this goes to the people's movement led for years by Swamiji.

It is for those who worked shoulder to shoulder with Swamiji to recount his manifold services to the cause. Although I had heard of Swamiji and his place in the public life of Hyderabad before the Police Action in Hyderabad, it is only thereafter that I had the privilege of coming in contact with him. This contact has again been in one particular sphere. In that field, however, namely, the development of Khadi and village industries, Swamiji's contribution has been unique.

A Sanyasi to his finger tips, Swamiji has not allowed his spiritual strength to be used only for his own personal growth. He has placed his powers at the disposal of the community. Whether it is politics, social reform, economic development, Swamiji applies his mind to helping the people in all fields. That a person of his spiritual eminence is at the helm of affairs is a source of great strength to those who have the privilege of working under his guidance. Despite this position of eminence, Swamiji is a democrat who treats co-workers on terms of equality.

(VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA)

MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NEW DELHI
October 17, 1963

I feel happy to have got this opportunity of paying my tribute to the services rendered by Swami Ramanand Tirtha to the masses of the former Hyderabad State in particular and to the people of India in general. Any one who has ever come in contact with him will be impressed by his leaderlike qualities of moral courage, deep human sympathy and sincerity of purpose

In whatever conditions and for whatever ends he engaged himself in public work during the last quarter of a century or so, Swamiji has always been guided by certain ideals. Even when things pushed him into the limelight, he always managed to keep himself into the background, giving the pride of place to principles and the ideal to which he owed allegiance

I welcome the idea of Swamiji's admirers and friends bringing out a commemoration volume on the occasion of his completing sixty years. His life has certainly a message which will interest all and inspire many. On this occasion, I offer my humble tribute to Swami Ramanand Tirtha and his work and wish him many more years of public service

(RAM SUBHAG SINGH)

When freedom of expression was a taboo and when the political consciousness in the former Hyderabad State was at its lowest ebb, there came in the political firmament a shining star—Swami Ramananda Tirtha.

Under his leadership, the political struggle gained momentum and the people looked towards him as a sheet anchor for their emancipation from the feudal rule of the Nizam.

It was his sheer stature and personality that fused the three distinct linguistic units of Hyderabad into one solid base for the struggle against the despotic government.

His powerful eloquence, his abiding faith in democracy and above all his innate passion for the underdog won the hearts of millions of his countrymen.

His leadership was inspiring. The State Congress owed not a little to his magnificent lead. His contribution to fight the Razakar menace and the Communists' depredations is a shining chapter.

At a time when the Congress never enunciated its socialistic orientation of policy, it was left to Swamiji who gave a distinct left bias to the mass movement.

In the constructive field he was as keen as he was in the political arena. The number of Khadi Bhandars opened throughout the State and the Village Industries that came up, were the eloquent example of his dynamism.

His dedication and absolute sincerity won him many adherents particularly, the younger elements of the political life.

Truly he belonged to all the three regions—Karnatak, Maratbwada and Telengana.

The celebration is not only an event of great importance but also a reminder of his fine contribution to the political awakening in the feudal state.

I join the thousands of Congressmen all over the country in wishing him many many happy returns of the day.

(G. BRAHMAYYA)

President, Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee

THE DEMOCRAT

A FORTNIGHTLY MAGAZINE

SWAMIJI'S MESSAGE TO DETENUS

(From our Correspondent at Bandinagar Hyderabad)

Friends,

Hearty greetings to you all ! Though forcibly shifted from Culbarga Jail, my mind is always absorbed in the various joys and sorrows I experienced there

We are passing through very critical, at the same time fast changing situation. We are to hold on and be firm until final victory is achieved. People outside are fighting the battle with stout hearts. Those of us inside who have started the Movement have to suffer all hardships in a serene mood. Maybe we may have to die inside the Jail, but we shall certainly be bringing nearer the dawn of freedom for the people of Hyderabad.

I am not going to give in unless fundamentals are agreed to. No sacrifice is too great now. I am confident that none of you will shirk death if it comes to that. Let us face it with a joyous heart.

This is no ordinary struggle. The last battle of India's freedom and nationhood is being fought on the soil of Hyderabad. Let us not by our small weakness jeopardise the interests of India. None should expect any weakness on my part. I will hold on to the banner aloft even at the risk of being shot.

Do not get excited at inconveniences inside the Jails. No representations are going to be of any avail. The instigators amongst Jail officials will be there. They will instigate and thus create some situation to use force and justify it. Particularly there you should take utmost care to see that no further troubles are created. If you have grasped the correct situation of the stage to which the struggle has developed you will realise the correctness of my suggestion.

The clouds of darkness will soon vanish and the sunshine of new-born freedom will soon emerge in all its effulgence.

I greet you all once again

— Swamiji

(See next Page)

**"I WILL HOLD ON THE BANNER ALOFT EVEN
AT THE RISK OF BEING SHOT"**

SWAMI RAMANAND TIRTH



A FREE NATION MAGAZINE

DEMOCRAT

SWAMISI MESSAGE TO DITEN S

FRIENDS

Heartly greetings to you all. These words written from Goulbarga T.S. may not be able to reach you as I am not sure if I can reach you.

We are full of joy and hope at this time. The change of season is here and we are all well. We are all working hard to bring about a better world. We are all working hard to bring about a better world. We are all working hard to bring about a better world.

I am writing this to you in a simple and plain language. I am writing this to you in a simple and plain language. I am writing this to you in a simple and plain language.

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"I WILL HOLD ON THE BANNER ALONE EVEN AT THE RISK OF BEING SHOT" **SHAMU RAMANA**

For V.H. Desai Page 1 MPV Sany

NEW DELHI

I had the pleasure to have known Swamiji since 1947 or there about as a great freedom fighter and a leader of the National movement in Hyberabad. I was then a member of the old Shukla Cabinet in the Madhya Pradesh and I personally knew, against what terrific odds, he had to lead the movement.

Later both he and I were elected to the Parliament and I was associated with him in several spheres of political work especially in respect of the reorganisation of States and formation of Maharahstra. I know that but for his prestige and strength the Hyderabad State would not have been disintegrated and Maharahstra formed. People of Maharashtra have got to be grateful to him for this. In fact he may be regarded as one of the makers of modern Maharashtra.

It was he who realised that Maharashtra was educationally backward in those days and that was the principal cause for all its ills. I believe that most of the Educational institutions in Marathwada can trace their beginnings to his efforts. My brother Dr. Surendra Barlingay was associated with him in one such attempt viz. People's College at Nanded.

May I take this opportunity of congratulating him on the occasion of his 61st birthday and wishing him many happy returns of the day for the service of the Motherland ?

(DR. W. S. BARLINGAY)

जयपूर, राजस्थान

२ सितम्बर, १९६३

स्वामी श्री रामानन्दजी तीर्थ भूतपूर्व हैदराबाद राज्य की राजनैतिक जागृति के जनको में हैं। उनके त्याग, कष्ट सहन, धैर्य और दृढ़ता, देशी राज्यों की उस समय की जनता के लिए तो प्रेरणा के स्रोत थे ही। आज भी उनकी स्मृति हृदय को जाग्रत और प्रेरित करती है। उनकी सेवाओं के प्रति शतशः प्रणाम।

हरिभाऊ उपाधय

संत तुकडोजी महाराज

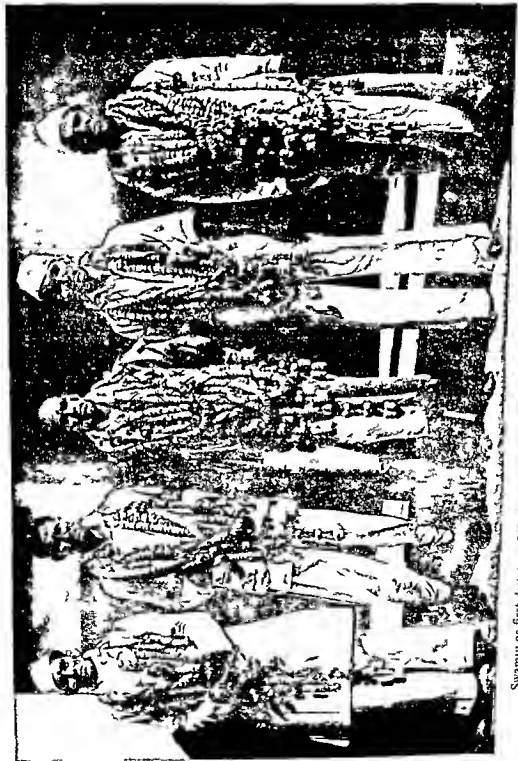
श्रीगुरुदेव सेवाश्रम,

सुभाषरोड, नागपूर २

दिनांक २६-९-१९६३

अनेक स्वामी स्वामीके रूपमें रहते हैं मगर स्वामी रामानन्द तीर्थजीने जो राष्ट्र सेवा और अपना अध्यात्म - अधिष्ठान सम्हाला है। मैं उनका हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ। मेरा उन के साथ काफी समय सत्संग वार्तालाप हुआ है। उनकी बहुजन सेवा की तारीफ़ सर्व जन जानते ही हैं। उनकी साठ वर्ष की आयु सेवामें ही गयी, और भी विधायक और धर्म - सेवा - कार्य उनसे अधिक वर्ष तक हो यह मैं दिलसे प्रशंसित प्रार्थता हूँ।

तुकडोजीदास



Swamiji as first dictator of Hyderabad State Congress with his colleagues offering Satyagraha, 1938

A SANYASIN WITH A DIFFERENCE

BALWANTRAI MEHTA

SWAMI Ramanand Tirth is a Sanyasi, who has adopted Karmayoga as defined by Bhagwad Gita. He has renounced the worldly possessions and attractions for a good life. He came out to champion the cause of the people of Hyderabad, at a time when they were under the autocratic yoke of the Nizam. All freedoms were denied to the people. No instruction of self expression was available. Even the right to organise for the purpose of self protection and self preservation was denied. Autocracy was supreme and it was ruling with the aid of a handful of communalists in the largest state of India. At that time the people were dispirited and down hearted because of the tyranny of one man's rule, for a long period of time. While people in British India and in many other Indian States were raising their heads to assert their right for freedom, the people in Hyderabad were cowed down and were unable to raise their voice against autocracy and want of freedom. It was this juncture that Swami Ramananda Tirth threw his weight on the side of the people, came out as the champion of millions of the oppressed people of Hyderabad and challenged the might of the autocracy.

Swami had to suffer for a noble cause. He had to face the wrath of the mighty ruler. He had to carry on unaided, without manpower and resources but he remained undaunted,

sometimes all alone, some times with a group of intimate souls as a beacon light. Millions of people respected him, loved him and looked upon him as their Defender.

Swami stood for a cause which was noble. No suffering was too great for him. He was always ready to suffer the consequences of his conviction. He worked with a missionary zeal in his march towards freedom. He had to pass through many vicissitudes, had to undergo many tremor and turmoils but he carried about the Torch light of Freedom, without faltering and fear. It was his good fortune to see the dawn of freedom not only in the destiny of country but he became the herald of Freedom in his own state of Hyderabad. The autocratic rule of Nizam fell down like a house of cards and the people were freed from the nightmare of tyranny, persecution, and autocracy. But for him and his hand of brave colleagues, the problem of Hyderabad could not have been soon solved inspite of Statesmanship and brave leadership of Sardar Patel.

Swami is votary of Ahimsa and Satya. He stands for the constructive regeneration of this ancient nation. He has devoted himself to manifold constructive activities, which go to strengthen the roots of democracy in this country. He has resisted the temptations of power and pelf and has rejected all allurements

which would tie him down to common earth. He has been devoting himself now to the propagation of Sarvodaya ideals and to the spread of constructive activities. He has renounced even the parliamentary life and has been dedicating himself to the cause of those who are the lowest of the low. Daridranarayan of the country.

Swamiji completes his 60 years of useful life on 3.10.1963. His has been a dedicated life. He can look back upon years of useful activi-

ties. He can look back with pride on the past in which he has the satisfaction of reaching his cherished goals. This country will wish him a long and useful life and will look upon him as a selfless guide in our march for progress and fulfilment of his cherished ideals. Not only his colleagues but all those who do not know him intimately, pay their tributes to him for his work in the service of the country. May he live long and continue to render useful service to his countrymen in all works of life.



A SELFLESS SOUL

S NIJALINGAPPA

I know Swami Ramananda Tirtha for nearly two decades. Physically he is a frail man. He does not impress one at first sight. But when one's association with him increases, respect, regard and affection for him increase. That has also been the case with me.

After a very successful educational career he plunged whole-heartedly and unreservedly into the struggle for Freedom in Hyderabad, a State with a most reactionary and undemocratic Government, he led a struggle against great odds. The time was when quite a few leaders of the Movement in Hyderabad wavered. But Swami Ramananda Tirth stood firm as a rock and carried out the struggle. His life was in danger many a time and he knew it but he never looked back. Undauntedly he led the struggle for Freedom and won. He is a man of few needs. It is a pleasure to be with him. I had occasion to be his host in Delhi quite a few times and I always found it a delightful experience to have him as a guest.

Swami Ramananda Tirth is misunderstood quite often and even great leaders have made mis-

takes about him and possibly later repented for their mistakes. A man essentially of the masses, he has keen delight in working for them and he firmly believes in the socialistic pattern of society which is the ideal we stand for. His firm stand was responsible for the land reforms being passed in Hyderabad. He has no political ambition and it was with great difficulty that I made him agree to be a Member of Parliament last time. This time he refused flatly to stand as a candidate.

Quite a few educational institutions in ex-Hyderabad State some of them now in Maharashtra, owe their existence and continuance to him.

Swami Ramananda Tirth is a firm believer in constructive work. He is devoting himself now solely towards building up of educational institutions and allied work.

The commemoration Committee have honoured themselves by deciding to celebrate Swami Ramananda Tirth's Shastiyahdipurihi. I wish him many more years of useful service to the country.

A REPOSITORY OF DYNAMISM

Dr. B. V. KESKAR

I AM happy that on the occasion of Swami Ramanand Tirtha's 61st birthday a commemoration volume is being prepared to pay a tribute to his services to the country

I came in contact with Swamiji at first during the course of the States People's movement. He was then a very devoted leader of the agitation in Hyderabad for responsible government. Swamiji belonged then, if I remember aright, to the more radical wing of the agitation and in consequence he had to bear the brunt of the wrath of the State Government. He carried on the work with unflinching courage and he soon became the symbol of the people's urge for freedom and responsible government. He gathered round himself a band of enthusiastic workers.

As General Secretary of the AICC my contact with Swamiji increased and I came to admire his qualities of selflessness, simplicity, energy and drive. His dynamism gave new life to the movement in Hyderabad.

Work in Hyderabad was probably more difficult than in any other State. The Nizam's Government was as anachronistic a tyranny as ever existed. It had the support of the bulk of the Muslims in India and the British Government also dealt with it cautiously. It required

courage of the highest order to carry on an agitation in such an atmosphere. Swamiji never flinched and it is due to his leadership that in Hyderabad public opinion was slowly built up for democratic government.

The circumstances that led to Police Action are too well known to need recapitulation here. Swamiji and his band of workers did yeoman service in those days in keeping up public morale and seeing that the Government of India did not capitulate to the terms of the Nizam and Razakars.

It is regrettable that after the liberation of Hyderabad and more especially after the break up of the State a leader of Swamiji's stature and service should have been allowed to recede into background. His services would have been invaluable in making the adjustment of the people to the new States smooth and helpful. It is not a compliment to the leadership of the States concerned. The loss is of the States and not Swamiji's.

He has a keen political judgement. His energy and drive are remarkable. My contacts with him have made me respect his personal qualities all the more. I hope he will live long and do good work for the country.

स्वामीजी और विधायक कार्य

श्री. अण्णासहेय सहस्त्रा बुद्धे

स्वामी रामानंद तीर्थ से मेरा क्व परिचय हुआ इसकी याद आज मुझे नहीं है। शिवरामपल्ली में जो सर्वोदय सम्मेलन हुआ, उसके पश्चात् उनका नित्य संबंध आता रहा।

महाराष्ट्र में एक खास परंपरा है। लोकमान्य तिलक से जो परंपरा चलती आरही है, उसका अनुसरण महाराष्ट्र के बहुत सारे कार्यकर्ता करते आये हैं। स्वामीजी भी उसी परंपरा में से एक हैं। सार्वजनिक कार्यकर्ता का जीवन शिक्षा प्रचार से शुरू होता है। हिप्परगे मे खोली गई राष्ट्रीय पाठशाला में स्वामीजी का सहयोग रहा। पाठशाला को केंद्रबिंदु करके विधायक काम भी वे करते रहे। धीरे धीरे राजकीय क्षेत्र में उनका प्रवेश हुआ होगा। राजनीति में प्रवेश होने पर शिक्षक के नाते शिक्षण क्षेत्र से साक्षात् संपर्क उनका छूट गया। फिर भी, मराठवाड़ा में हर एक जगह पर स्कूल तथा कालेज शुरू करने का जो प्रयास आज तक हुआ, उसके साथ उनका धनिष्ठ संपर्क रहा है। उनका संचालन भी वे करते रहे। लेकिन मराठवाड़ा से बाहर रहनेवाले हम लोग उन्हें राजकीय नेता के नाते ही जानते थे।

स्वामीजी से मेरा जो संपर्क बढ़ा है, वह हैदराबाद क्षेत्र में होनेवाले खादी के कन के द्वारा बढ़ा है। करीब बारह साल पहले अखिल भारत चरखा संघ के द्वारा हैदराबाद में मेटपल्ली, बाबीलल तथा अन्य जगह चालू खादी काम हैदराबाद खादी समिति को सोपा गया। स्वामी रामानंद तीर्थ हैदराबाद खादी समिति के शुरू मे ही अध्यक्ष रहे हैं। गये बारह साल मे हैदराबाद खादी समिति को चलाने का, बढाने का जो कम हुआ है, उसका बहुत सारा धेय मुख्यत उन्ही को है।

धीरे धीरे स्वामीजी के बहुविध संपन्न व्यक्तित्व का परिचय बढ़ता गया। राजकीय क्षेत्र मे वे अभी अभी तक क्रियाशील थे। मराठवाड़े में भूदान आंदोलन के भी वे सबे सवां रहे। मराठवाड़े में जो शिक्षा प्रवृत्ति बढ रही है, उसकी नींव डालने का काम भी वे करते रहे। फिर भी उनसे मेरा व्यक्तिगत संपर्क बहुत गहरा बना है—ऐसा मे नहीं कह सकता। खादी प्रवृत्ति से संबंधित काम मे ही मेरा उनसे संपर्क अधिकतर रहा है।

हैदराबाद खादी समिति के काम के संपर्क मे हि मेरे विचार एक प्रकट चिंतन के रूपमें यहां पेश करना, इस अवसर पर उचित होगा। अखिल भारत चरखा संघ के द्वारा हैदराबाद खादी समिति को काम सोंप गया, उस वक्त दो लाख का उत्पादन होता था—ऐसा मेरा ख्याल है। अब वह उत्पादन ५० लाख के उपर चला गया है। आज मराठवाड़े मे हर एक जिले मे काम शुरू हुआ है। हैदराबाद खादी समिति में काम करनेवाले कार्यकर्ताओं की संख्या ४०० के उपर होंगी। हैदराबाद खादी समिति का काम अच्छा चल रहा है— ऐसा सभी लोगों का अभिप्राय है। स्थूल दृष्टी से देखा जाय तो मे भी इस अभिप्राय से सहमत हू।

भविष्य को नजर रखते हुए विचार करता हूं तो मेरी दृष्टी कुछ अलग रहती है। नये कितने कार्यकर्ता हर साल तैयार होते हैं—यह एक कम के मूल्य कन की महत्वपूर्ण कसौटी में मानता हूं। आज हैदराबाद खादी समिति के कम का खूब विस्तार हुआ है। यह मेरा काम संभालने

की शक्ति रखनेवाले नये कार्यकर्ताओं का निर्माण अत्यंत जरूरी है।

इस दृष्टी से देखा जाय तो उत्साजनक चित्र नजर के सामने नहीं आता। दूसरे संस्थाओं की अपेक्षा हैदराबाद खादी समिति में संचालक कार्यकर्ता थग इनके संपर्क बहुत अच्छे हैं। फिर भी टीम के नाते काम करने की दृष्टी से जिस तरह संपर्क बढ़ाना चाहिये या घटाना चाहिये, उस तरह से काम बहुत कम हुआ है। कार्यकर्ताओं के जिम्मे सारा काम सौंप देने का निर्णय समिति आज यदि करेगी तो एक दिल से, एक विचार से और एक ध्येयवाद से चलनेवाले कितने कार्यकर्ता जुटाए जा सकेंगे- इसका जवाब देना बहुत कठिन है। यहाँ एक बात स्पष्ट करना ठीक होगा, यह सीफें हैदराबाद खादी समिति की ही कमी है— ऐसा नहीं। सारे हिंदुस्तान में जितनी बड़ी बड़ी संस्थायें काम करती हैं, उनके सामने भी यही पेचीदा समस्या है।

इस समस्या को नई नजर रखकर यह सुझाया गया कि हर एक जिले के लिये एक स्थानिक संस्था बनाकर उसको सारा काम सौंपा जाय। बिहार खादी प्रामोद्योग संघ ने इस दिशा में कुछ कदम बढ़ाया है। दूसरे दूसरे राज्यों में भी

इस दृष्टी से सोचा जा रहा है। हैदराबाद खादी समिति ने भी हर एक जिले में समिति बनाकर उसको काम सौंपने की दिशा में गये तीन चार सालों से प्रयत्न किये। लेकिन जिन कार्यकर्ताओं के भरोसे वह काम खाड़ा हो सकता है— ऐसे कार्यकर्ताओं की कमी रही। फलस्वरूप इस प्रयोग में सफलता प्राप्त नहीं हुई।

आज भी यह विकेंद्रिकरण किम तरह दिया जा सकेगा, इसके बारे में रास्ता नजर नहीं आता। हर जिले में पाच पचास कार्यकर्ताओं का निर्माण किम कार्यक्रम से हो, यह प्रश्न समस्या है। स्वामीजी को भी इस समस्या का मुनाबला करना पड़ रहा है। बैचारिक दृष्टी से खादी के क्षेत्रों में सारे देश को नई दिशा में ले जाने का काम जो इने गिने लोग कर रहे हैं— उनमें स्वामीजी भी एक हैं।

आज उनकी साठ साल की उम्र पूरी हो रही है। अध्यात्मिक जीवन साधना का मार्ग, इस दृष्टी से ही विधायक काम की तरफ वे देखते रहे। वही निष्पृष्टतासे और निलंब भाव से वे आज काम कर रहे हैं। परमेश्वर उन्हें दीर्घ आयु और आरोग्य दें, और विधायक कार्यक्रमों में उनका मार्गदर्शन मिलता रहे— ऐसी मेरी हार्दिक प्रार्थना है।



INTEGRATION OF HYDERABAD STATE WITH THE INDIAN UNION

ROLE PLAYED BY SWAMI RAMANANDA TIRTH

Dr. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO

THE integration of Hyderabad State with the Indian Union was one of the greatest achievements of contemporary history, and the role played by Swami Ramananda Tirth in Hyderabad's accession to the Indian Union was magnificent. Hyderabad was a centre of feudalism in India and a stronghold of British imperialism. In order to serve their interests the British protected the rulers of the States but curbed them when they found that they were raising their heads. Hyderabad was no exception to this rule, though the Nizams enjoyed a certain amount of distinction among the ruling Princes. On the eve of Indian Independence the native states began to disappear from the map of India by merging with the Indian Union, but Hyderabad wanted to remain Independent. At this critical moment in the history of the State, Swami Ramananda Tirth took up the leadership of freedom struggle in the State.

The Hyderabad State Congress which replaced the three regional organisations of Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak conferences, came into existence in 1937. As the name "Congress" was an anathema to the then Government of the State, the organisation was banned immediately after its inception, and had to carry on an illegal existence for a period of more than 8 years. The ban was defied by

a batch of five Congressmen led by the late Sri Govindrao Nanao of Parbhani, the other members being Sri Janardhanrao Desai, Sri Ravi Narayan Reddy, Sri Ramkrishnan Dboot, and Sri Srinivasrao Borikar. Satyagraha continued for sometime but on account of a parallel movement of defiance of law started by Arya Samaj and Hindu Civil Liberties Union and other bodies, it had to be given up under the guidance of Gandhiji. The State Congress had to keep on flying its banner and Swami Ramananda Tirtha became its first dictator. He defied the ban and was arrested. After his release he became the acknowledged leader of Hyderabad State Congress.

The period between 1947 to 1948 was an epoch-making period for the whole of India. But for Hyderabad State it was more so than to the rest of India. While British India was to become independent, the Nizam of Hyderabad was claiming that he would form an independent State in the heart of India. Except the Muslim communal elements, none supported him. The Ittehadul Musalmeen organisation became the pivot of this separatist movement and succeeded for sometime in preventing the Nizam from listening to all friendly counsel. On July 26, 1947, the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, once again urged the few Princely Rulers who had not made up

their mind to join Indian Union in the following words:-

"You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible."

Lord Mountbatten was addressing the Conference of Rulers & Ministers of Indian States. Declaring that it was the last occasion on which he was having the privilege of addressing them as Crown Representative, Lord Mountbatten stressed on the need for economic and political unity of the sub-continent of India. Swamiji as well as other representatives of the people of all persuasions insisted that Hyderabad should join Indian Union and that Nizam should grant Responsible Government to the people under his regis.

After the ban on the Hyderabad State Congress was lifted as a result of personal appeals made by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the first session of Hyderabad State Congress was held in Hyderabad. Swami Ramananda Tirth who presided over the session categorically stressed these points and offered a challenge to the autocratic government of Nizam in strident tones. The following extract of his Presidential address will speak for itself -

In the past the Princes have pooled their man power and resources at the behest of their foreign masters to keep India in bondage. The Indian people including those of the Indian States through suffering and sacrifices have created situations which have forced Britain to liquidate her empire in India. The Princes cannot claim freedom to keep their people in subjection. The States people will be free. It is they who will be sovereign. The metaphysical theory of the Divine Right of

King is nothing more than myth. The Princes have to assume the role of constitutional monarchs and recognise the sovereignty of the people if they have to survive. Otherwise they will be swept away by the mighty wave of democratic urge and that is fast coming over the minds of the people of the States.

Again Swamiji said during the course of his speech as follows -

'The Princes must realise that their hostility towards Indian freedom means hostility towards their own people. The people will resist this, tooth and nail, no matter what it costs. The States people cannot be isolated from the main stock. Race, language, tradition, history, culture and aspiration have been one and the same, and no historical accidents can destroy this unity. The people of those states who are forced to keep out of the Indian Union have no other alternative but to come into conflict with their Governments and force them to fall in line with the rest of India. That State which tries to keep out of the Indian Union will have to run the risk of forfeiting the allegiance of its own people. Such an isolationist move will recoil upon the State itself.'

He summed up the demands of Hyderabad State Congress in the following words -

1 Hyderabad Government should immediately announce that Hyderabad will join free Indian Union.

2 It should decide to participate in the present Constituent Assembly and send elected representatives of the people so as to enable their entry in the next session of the Assembly.

3 It should convene a Constituent Assembly elected on adult franchise to frame democratic constitution based on Responsible Government under the aegis of the Ruler for Hyderabad as an integral part of free Indian Union.



Swami and Dhebar Bhai with trustees of Khadi Samiti



Swami with Shri U. N. Dhehar, Chairman, All India
V I and Khadi Commission



Swamiji, Dhebar Bhai and others inspecting the Amber demonstration



Swamiji among the invitees of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Dakshina Bharath Hindi Prachar Sabha

4 It should instal an interim government in the meanwhile.

5 It should confer full civil liberties "

He appealed to the people in the following inspiring words -

' On behalf of you all, I take the liberty of making an appeal to His Exalted Highness himself. I wish to convey to him the depth of the feelings of the dumb millions of the State. Hyderabad is fast heading towards a crisis. Suppression should not be the way of dealing with the basic demand of the people. I would entreat the powers that be to concede the demands forthwith. This way alone lies the real solution of the Hyderabad issue.

But all such appeals, all that we say may prove to be a cry in the wilderness. That has been our experience in the past. I know that a hue and cry will be raised by those who stand to support autocracy. There are already ample signs of it, but we have to be firm and steadfast. Storm unprecedented in its magnitude may overtake us. But we shall hold on to the banner of freedom and democracy in Hyderabad. Truth and non-violence shall be our sheet-anchor. Knowing fully well that justice is on our side, undauntedly we march on till freedom for the people of Hyderabad is achieved and an entirely new chapter is opened in the constitutional history of Hyderabad. If our demands are not met forthwith, I shall have no hesitation in commending to you total resistance.'

This advice which he gave to the people of Hyderabad State was accepted and embodied in the following resolution of Hyderabad State Congress -

1 The State Congress has noted with regret the Firman issued by His Exalted Highness the Nizam declaring that the Hyderabad State will not join any Constituent Assembly, and shall

become entitled to resume the status of an independent sovereign after the lapse of the paramountcy. This vital declaration has been made without any reference to the people of the State and does not represent their will expressed by the State Congress on behalf of the people of the State. No decision can be accepted unless it is endorsed by the people.

Almost the entire people of Hyderabad comprising of the Andhra, the Maharashtra and the Kannadigas whether Hindus or Muslims, come from the same stock as their brethren in the contiguous provinces, and only historical accidents have created artificial political barriers. The place of Hyderabad, therefore, naturally lies in the Indian Union only. The Government by their declaration have, however, sought to align themselves with the disruptionist forces of the vested interests and feudal hierarchy, which can only mean perpetuation of autocratic rule.

The Indian Princely Order upto recently considered its very existence dependent on British Imperialism. Hyderabad cut off from the Indian Union with which it is organically one when divested of the support of the masses cannot stand by itself and will be rendered weak and incapable of serving its people, and such a weak state will necessarily seek the support and become dependent upon some external power that would endanger the freedom and prosperity of the people. Freedom of India has been won by the sacrifices, efforts and sufferings of the people of India and as a consequence British paramountcy is liquidated. The people of Hyderabad can, therefore, under no circumstances countenance any effort to isolate them from the people of India.

In view of the grave situation that has arisen by the precipitate act of the State authorities which is bound to have disastrous consequences

both for the people of the State and for India as a whole, the State Congress calls upon the people to become the architects of their objective of Responsible Government integrated to the structure of the Indian Union, and to resist any attempt at the imposition of an autocratic regime isolated from the rest of India. It, therefore, vests in the Working Committee the plenary powers to take all necessary steps for the achievement of this objective and call for necessary action in any emergency that would arise.

2. Whereas Government responsible to the people is bound to be a living reality in free India, and whereas in the turmoil and frenzy of present day political situation it is necessary for every man to clearly assess his future and seriously weigh the issues at stake, the First Session of the Hyderabad State Congress feels it necessary to broadly outline its vision about Responsible Government.

Responsible Government is the demand for a democratic government and not for a domination of majority. The decision by majority is merely a technique for the functioning of the democratic government. Democracy shall cater to the needs of every individual as to his intellectual progress and material prosperity whether the individual belongs to the majority or minority of religious or political character. It proposes to break the strangle-hold of the feudal and other vested interests on the economy of the country, so that the country's wealth be stepped up ten fold and equitably distributed. In the opinion of this session that alone would put an end to the present communal and economic high tensions and the large scale economic exploitation and create necessary conditions in which the prosperity of the millions can be secured.

3. Certain fundamental rights which govern this progress and prosperity are basic matters which must be incorporated in the constitution as the essence of democratic life, and therefore, above the place of controversy. These fundamental rights in the opinion of the Hyderabad State Congress shall include

(i) Every citizen shall have the legitimate right of free expression, the right of free association, and the right to assemble.

(ii) Every adult citizen shall have the right to vote, stand for election, and as such have his say in the formation and the working of the government of the day.

(iii) Employment to every citizen or in the alternative, relief.

(iv) Right to free Eight Year Basic Education through mother tongue medium and equal opportunities for developing language, culture, and intellectual and socio-economic life.

(v) Every citizen shall enjoy full freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess and practise his or her religion, culture and language.

(vi) No disability shall attach to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex in regard to public employment, office of power or honour.

This resolution formed the basis on which the struggle for freedom had to be fought by the people of Hyderabad. Remarkably enough the main demands regarding fundamental rights and equality of opportunities etc. anticipated the principles embodied in the Indian Constitution later in 1950. I had the privilege of moving this resolution in the First Session of Hyderabad State Congress which was supported by Sri D. G. Bindu. The struggle for freedom in Hyderabad continued till 17th September 1948 when the Armies of Indian Union reached Hyderabad and took over.

temporarily the administration of the State. During the whole period of struggle Swamiji stood like a rock and was mostly in jail. Inside or outside the jail, he fought against any compromise that might result in the perpetuation of the Nizam's autocratic rule over the people of Hyderabad State. Lord Mountbatten tried his level best to effect a settlement which would have retained the Nizam in a special category of Princely Rulers. While in jail, negotiations were going on and we all shared the anxiety of Swamiji as to what the final decision of Government of India would be. If the Nizam had not been influenced by the leaders of Ittihadul Musalmeen and had not rejected the final draft agreement proposed to him through the good offices of Lord Mountbatten, the advent of democracy in Hyderabad might have been further delayed. It was a God-send that he rejected the proposals and hastened the establishment of Democracy.

The struggle for freedom in Hyderabad began in the minds of the people long ago. But living under a double slavery of the Ruler and the British Government, they could not raise their voice for long. The movement in the State began later than in other States and it took a very mild shape in the beginning. Open political movement was out of question. The Indian National Congress did not directly take up the question of the people of the State. The States Peoples Conference created the necessary atmosphere but in Hyderabad movement had to begin under the cover of educational and social movements. It is in 1937 that the State Congress was established and banned immediately. Swami Ramananda Tirth who was devoting his life to educational work, was inspired to identify himself with this new born and stifled organisation, and to give it vitality and energy. An unencumbered man as

a Sanyasi, and intensely patriotic, he was entirely free from the inhibitions which limited some of the other leaders who had already paved the way for the freedom movement and sponsored it. On many occasions his own enthusiasm had to be curbed due to the limitations inherent in the situation. Gandhi's personal guidance was most fortunately available to Hyderabad State Congress and in spite of minor and major differences of outlook which sometimes created serious internal differences, I have no hesitation in saying that the struggle for freedom in old Hyderabad State owed its vitality and force to the dynamic personality of Swami Ramananda Tirth. He provided the necessary grit, not merely by his outspoken utterances, but by rallying around him and the Hyderabad State Congress, a large number of political workers who gave him their unstinted support. When the fate of Hyderabad hung in balance, his unswerving loyalty to the cause of integration of Hyderabad State with the Indian Union was a great asset to the cause of the Indian Unity. While integration of Hyderabad with the rest of India was a logical and inevitable result of the freedom of India and the establishment of Indian Union, and largely due to the forces of historical development of free India, there is no doubt that the unflinching loyalty of Hyderabad State Congress symbolised by Swami Ramananda Tirth was the most important factor which hastened the freedom of Hyderabad. Looking in retrospect, one cannot but admire the important and vital role played by the people of Hyderabad under the Hyderabad State Congress and the leadership of Swami Ramananda Tirth. I have great pleasure in paying my tribute to the invaluable services rendered by Swamiji and offer him my best wishes for a long and healthy life of continued service to the people and the country.

SWAMIJI AND TELENGANA

P V NARASIMHA RAO

OBJECTIVITY in thinking as well as in writing requires certain conditions. One such condition is that the person who is called upon to think or write about a subject should not be too emotionally involved with the subject-matter. While thorough knowledge of what one is called upon to write is a necessary requisite for objectivity, it must be admitted that emotional involvement often leads to the introduction of subjective factors into the thinking and the writing.

It is from this point of view that I can never hope to attain complete objectivity while writing about Swami Ramananda Tirtha. By nature, I am not arrogant but at the same time I am also not the universally reverent type going about prostrating before every elderly person. Sometimes, I have also, to some extent justifiably, earned some notoriety for irreverence. This is precisely the reason why people such as myself reserve all their reverence and devotion for just one or two individuals, the remaining mass of humanity, including many a great man, being given a treatment which is all courtesy, all admiration, all approbation but which is very different from reverence and devotion. I must at once admit that Swami Ramananda Tirtha happens to be one of the very very few individuals for whom I have, through the past two decades,

come to reserve all the devotion and reverence I am capable of. It is, therefore, very difficult to maintain objectivity in my appraisal of this grant personality. Nevertheless, I shall try my very best to present a detached and succinct appraisal of Swami's personality as I could understand it.

I have been asked to write about Swami and Telengana. Obviously, the scope of this subject is very restricted and hence its treatment also is bound to be similarly restricted. But I am convinced that despite its apparent limitation in scope, the subject in reality has a much wider implication and many more indirect ramifications. I shall try to unravel these aspects briefly in the lines that follow.

The State of Hyderabad was really speaking, penta-lingual although from the regional point of view it could be called trilingual. The State produced a number of patriots and leaders of public opinion. It could also boast of illustrious personalities in almost every sphere of activity. However, a deeper examination would at once reveal that most of the State leaders, wherever they had hailed from, made Hyderabad City the main centre of their activity. By and large, they operated from the Capital and disseminated their inspiration to the districts. Moreover, despite their State wide operations they could not but maintain

a regional slant in the ultimate analysis. Some of them were essentially rooted in Telengana, some in Marathwada and some in the Karnatak districts. Those who were natives of Hyderabad City could not be fitted into the Regional pattern and therefore continued as the metropolitan contingent. This was, by and large, the pattern of leadership obtaining in the Hyderabad State and it was inevitable under the circumstances.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha constitutes a remarkable exception to this pattern. He was born a Kannadiga and the Karnatak region justifiably claims him. The bulk of his educational activity to start with, and political activity later on, was located in the Marathwada region and therefore, the Maharashtrians can with perhaps greater justification, claim Swamiji as their own. But more than these two, I am convinced that it is in the Telengana Region that Swamiji's political personality came into full bloom, and it was for solving the problems of Telengana that the best part of Swamiji's political life and leadership were devoted. It would indeed be no exaggeration to say that if Swamiji's contribution to Telengana is removed, his political stature and achievements become very drastically depleted. It is for this reason that I can assert without any fear of contradiction that Swamiji while belonging to all the regions of Hyderabad State, belongs to the Telengana region in a very special sense. He created a sense of pride in Karnataka by being born there. He created a political educational and spiritual edifice by his intense activity and renunciation in the Marathwada region. But, more than these two, Swamiji created History in the Telengana Region. I have no doubt that a parallel to this personality cannot be

cited. To most of us political workers who got our inspiration from him, Swamiji was never a mere leader. It was not generally through precept that he built up a following. I do not remember that at any time he indulged in intellectual or hair-splitting arguments. Indeed no one took him as an individual. On the other hand, he was looked upon as a symbol, as a force, as a beacon light, and as an institution in himself. I have seen greater dilettantes. I have also heard more convincing orators. I have seen better political organisers. Possibly some other persons have even made greater sacrifices and have undergone worse suffering. In sheer brilliance of intellect also Swamiji is not unsurpassed. However, despite all this, I have not a shadow of doubt, that all the other persons who are perhaps severally superior to their own spheres do not, even together, approach anywhere the greatness of Swamiji. Thus it will be seen that Swamiji's appeal to us was not merely political nor was it utilitarian. Without straying into the unfamiliar field of metaphysics, I may say that his appeal to us was what may be called politico-spiritual. I am positively certain that most of his followers who in course of time have had to work under chaotic political leadership, have not got anything akin to Swamiji's leadership ever since. When Swamiji gave a call, none of us paused to think what his motive would probably be. When he unfolded a plan none of us calculated its possible repercussions on our own selves. There was such a complete and unstinted identification between Swamiji his cause and his followers that very often there was little need for discussion or circumspection. Such was the emotional involvement and the sear of politico-spiritual identification generated by Swamiji's personality.

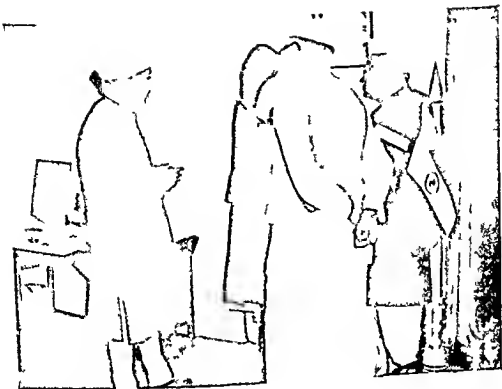
heard and felt amidst the deafening din of selfishness and extremism

Having said all this, I feel that I have still left undepicted a very vital facet of Swamiji's political life vis a vis Telengana. This facet was of course very natural and arose out of the uncompromising and clear cut attitudes taken by Swamiji in all the matters pertaining to Telengana in particular and Hyderabad State in general. His stand as regards the urgency and indispensability of far reaching land reforms naturally created violent reactions in the political circles of Telengana. It is now well known that the nucleus of political opposition to Swamiji had its most effective component in the Telengana region. The differences in Congress were incessantly sought to be depicted as personal and to be dismissed as the results of groupism. The ideological aspect was completely played down or even discarded as non-existent. It is perhaps a tragedy of the Congress organisation that we have nothing healthy to fight about, with the result that all the fights in Congress emanate from unhealthy issues. Under Swamiji's leadership the ideological polarisation was deliberately sought to be accentuated to such an extent that caste, group, region, personality and self interest all these factors which generally lead to quarrels, were completely drowned in the main current of ideology. It is difficult to imagine what appearance the Congress organisation would have presented today if only the ideological accentuation deliberately created by Swamiji had been allowed to develop in well regulated and wholesome channels. However, that is all mere conjecture now. The fact to be recorded here is that political opposition to Swamiji which started in Telengana was considerably strengthened as a result of two issues. The

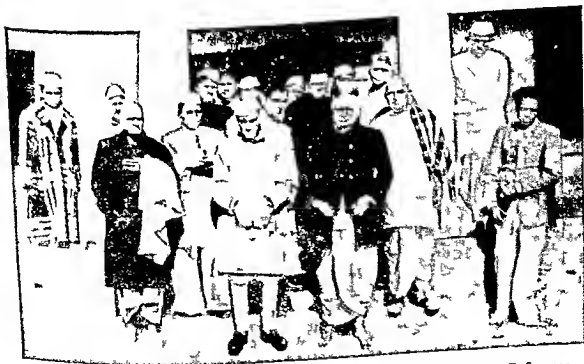
first was the issue of Land Reforms and the second, States Reorganisation. It must be admitted that despite several attempts to water down the radical nature of the Hyderabad Land Reforms, the actual outcome was by far the most progressive and beneficial to the poor peasantry. The Tenancy Act of Hyderabad was hailed as a model throughout India. One may be permitted to digress a little and observe here that in recent years the newly imported wisdom of erstwhile British India has only put the clock back in matters of Land Reform.

The other issue viz, Reorganisation of States on Linguistic basis was perhaps more decisive in Swamiji's political life. I happen to possess some inside knowledge of how this particular issue was completely played up and down by interested politicians according to exigencies of the moment. One important leader of the Congress who was tooth and nail opposed to Swamiji told me categorically, Please do not imagine that I am against Linguistic States. They will come when they will come. But meanwhile I would like to make use of this issue to see that Swamiji's pull and influence with the High Command are completely smashed because of this issue. It is coming handy for us and we are determined to make the best use of it politically. These words are still ringing distinctly in my ears.

Thus Swamiji's political ascendancy not only reached its zenith in Telengana but it also started its downward trend in the same region. I sometimes feel ashamed to remember the various methods employed to bring down Swamiji's name to embarrass him in all possible ways including a wrong projection of his personality and ideology in the local press. A perusal of all that used to appear about Swamiji in the newspapers of those days makes a very revealing though heart rending reading.



Swamiiji, with Panditji President State's peoples Conference and Nyalingappa and Dr G S Melkote discussing Hyderabad problem



Swamiiji and Panditji with the Executive members of the State's peoples Conference

Now this profound identification was to be traced to several factors. One important factor no doubt was that Swamiji being a Sanyasi at once created a sense of confidence and unmotivated service and sacrifice in the minds of his followers. The second factor was that his objectives were unambiguous and clear-cut. His insistence on the achievement of those objectives was absolute and unsullied by considerations of expediency or timely shifts in strategy. The third factor was of course the force of his own personality—a combination of his calm but extremely firm attitude, his tremendous spirit of defiance, his scintillating oratory and his unlimited capacity to generate dynamism. The above are no doubt very very important and far-reaching factors which made him an extremely powerful political magnet. Nevertheless I am positively certain that by themselves they do not constitute the basis for the emergence of Swami Ramananda Tirtha. I feel therefore that there is yet another factor which is most crucial. That factor is his solicitude for the down-trodden and his determination to stake his all for improving the lot of the underdog. These, in his case, were not mere platitudes. They were not just so many high sounding phrases embodied in constitutions, resolutions and writings. On the other hand, they were his greatest articles of faith. It is this quality which distinguishes him very clearly from most other leaders of the time. It is this quality again which endeared him to the masses on the one hand and the mass workers in the Congress on the other to an extent to which no other leader to my knowledge has been able to endear himself. Further, it is this particular quality which bound him inextricably with the Telangana Region and made him the darling of the millions in Telangana.

History, indeed, afforded dramatic opportunities for Swamiji's prominence and effective leadership in the Telangana Region. This was the region where unbridled feudalism on the one hand and extreme poverty and backwardness on the other freely interacted and gave birth to unabashed terrorism and violence. It is in this region that the problem of land tenure came to a head and created chaotic conditions throughout the countryside. The Razakars, the Communists, the feudals, the anti social elements and the profiteers—all combined to create a hell on earth for quite some time. The incidents of Akunur and Machireddipally and the hundreds of unreported atrocities perpetrated on the dumb millions of this region afforded sufficient explosive material for the exploitation of extremist elements. The massacres of Parkal and Bairampalli, coupled with collective fines, indiscriminate arrests, confiscation of property, rapes, loot and arson turned the whole of Telangana into a volcano. Unlike the other regions, the problem was not merely communal or political in Telangana. It was predominantly socio economic, coupled of course with communal and political complexities too. Therefore it was not to be solved by political expedients alone. It required a major and complicated operation.

It was this operation which Swamiji with his characteristic tenacity of purpose undertook to perform. Oddly enough there were many who opposed the operation. Some of them said that the patient would collapse. Others said that the carbuncle was still not ripe for the operation. Still others calculated their own profits and losses and tried to back out in a variety of ways, one of which was by maligning the operation itself. But Swamiji stood firm like a rock and went ahead with the

operation. He was so clear and forthright about the genus of the Telengana trouble that most people were rather startled for some time. Swamiji firmly believed that all the turbulence that was seen on the surface of Telengana was only a symptom while the real cause lay buried underneath. He therefore categorically stated times without number that anti social elements are like mosquitoes whose physical extermination alone would not weed them out so long as the breeding places are not drastically disinfected. In other words, he asserted that the genus of the feudal cum-communist contradiction lay in the extremely inequitable land relations prevailing in Telengana and that unless this genus was ruthlessly attacked and set right there was no likelihood of peace prevailing here. It was at his instance that the tendency of looking at communism as merely a law and order problem was gradually given up and a determined bid was made to tackle the land problem at the same time. To some eyes, all this appeared very disconcerting and Swamiji's saffron robes scared them as Red rags. There was so much of bitter and cantankerous incrimination. All in all, for some months, it was literally a hell on earth.

It was at this time that Swamiji undertook an intensive tour of this ravished country side. The conditions prevailing in the communist-infested areas of Telengana in those days were too heart rending to describe. Sandwiched between the military Police and the Communist dalams, the people were finding life utterly intolerable. Despite all this some of the suffering people appeared to maintain their sense of humour by nicknaming the Police as 'Paguti Doralu', (Bosses of day light) and the Communists as 'Cheekati Doralu' (Bosses of darkness.)¹ This was the atmosphere which

Swamiji entered with characteristic boldness. He had no police force to escort him, no authority to protect him. There are reasons to believe that Government circles did not quite approve of this tour which they tended to look upon as sheer meddling. There were some who entertained very little hopes of seeing Swamiji back again alive. But Swamiji did not flinch. He went from village to village trying to gather the petrified and fleeing ryots and tell them something which they had never heard of before. It was a message which put a new life into the living corpses in the country side. I have no wish to make comparisons but one was reminded of Gandhiji's tours of Naokhali and Tippera. Doubting Thomases sitting in Hyderabad tried to pooh-pooh Swamiji's Telengana Tour. To this day, one does not know how to compute the exact effect of this Historic tour. Moreover, in these days when public memory is preoccupied with the glammers of power and when so many political changes have overtaken this Region in quick succession, no accurate assessment of the results of Swamiji's tour are possible. However, those who were associated with the tour and also those who had a sympathetic understanding of the real implications of the tour will, I am sure, remember it for ever. The subsequent tour of Poojya Vinobaji in Telengana and the germination of the Bhoodan idea are too well-known to need repetition here.

The problem of the Telengana tenant and peasant assumed All India importance because of its political and ideological ramifications. The legislation that followed in the wake of these upheavals is also too well known to need repetition but what is not generally recognised at this distance of time today is that Swamiji was the lone voice which first made itself



Swamiji with Acharya Ranga and S Nyalingappa addressing a
press Conference at Delhi



Swamiji with Dwarakareeth Kachru of the State people's Conference
and M Ramachandra Rao

Swamiji has lost nothing inspite of everything but I wonder if any politician has any clear idea of what we the people have lost by the exit of this illustrious son of the soil from the political scene

I am sometimes inclined to think that after all it was well that Swamiji left politics. A missionary becomes a misfit after the fulfilment of his mission. That is a very cruel but at the same time an inexorable law of nature. Swamiji's stature has been very much enhanced by the way he devoted himself to activities other than power politics. After giving up leadership of the Hyderabad State Congress, he completely merged himself in constructive activity ever since and his refusal to stand for election to Parliament in 1962 marks yet another decisive turn in his spiritual journey. I understand that he has now decided to devote a larger portion of his time to the reorganisation of the Ramtirtha Ashram of which he is the head. At the same time, his activities in the constructive field continue unabated, particularly as the head of the Hyderabad Khadi Samiti which is at present the largest Khadi institution in Telengana. Those who are privileged to work in this institution are still blessed with Swamiji's guidance and inspiration. It is hoped that this guidance and inspiration will be forthcoming for a long long time to come.

Politicians are not very well known for their gratitude. They generally take care to see that even after death, an opponent's memory does not manage to gather too much goodwill. But the people at large at least should be enabled to know their benefactors and to remember them with gratitude—which they have in ample measure. History, however, gets obliterated by the accretion of an inconsequential mass of detail, completely drowning the simple but potent factors shaping it. This has been the tragedy of history, perhaps, ever since history began to be written. There appears little likelihood of the socio economic history of Telengana being ever written but I have no doubt that whether written or unwritten, that history will have Swami Ramananda Tirtha as its sole hero. A fact does not cease to be a fact merely because succeeding ignorant generations fail to remember it. After all what we consider History is only an infinitesimally small segment of the sum total of human experience.

Let the people of Telengana therefore remember this great patriot and benefactor, Swami Ramanada Tirtha—Remember him with gratitude and affection on this occasion of his 61st BIRTHDAY. Let them pray to God Almighty that this beloved Sanyasi of ours be spared many more decades of useful and disinterested service to the MOTHERLAND.

Jai Hind !

SWAMI RAMANANDA TIRTHA - TRIBUTE

ACHARYA RANGA

SWAMI Ramananda Tirtha is one of the highly principled, honest and patient Gandhian political leaders of our country. In those long years of turmoil in Princely India, so many of us were wondering when Hyderabad, the biggest of the Indian States, could come to be integrated with the rest of India's polity. The general mass of the people of that multi-lingual state seemed to be unable to throw away from their shoulders the seven centuries old thralldom of North Indian polity. Realising the pitiless political dominance of that regime and the obvious unpreparedness of the local masses to withstand the rigours of the double-distilled repression of the British and Princely orders, Mahatma Gandhi advised the local Congress leaders not to be too ready to start their Satyagraha campaigns in line with similar struggles in British or Princely India.

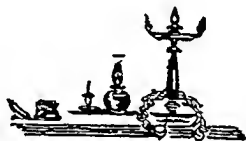
Swamiji was at his best during the Razakar's official and unofficial regime. In those years of political suffocation for nationalists, Swamiji displayed a great sense of statesmanship and high degree of heroism and thus helped to maintain the morale of our freedom-fighters. The moral authority he could derive from Gandhiji proved to be a great source of inspiration as well as a touch-stone and he used it scrupulously.

It is in conformity with his religious faith in high moral standards and scruples, as the essential pith and marrow of political leadership, that he withdrew himself in such a dignified manner, from the post—Police—Action ministerial politics and competition for Delhi's favours. So many of us admired him for this. In this, his example happens to be unique—how

that those of Hyderabad who ranged themselves as my friends and sought my counsel and protection, were opposed to those who sought Swamiji's protection and on several occasions, I had to advise the Congress Working Committee to pursue a line which was not quite satisfactory to Swamiji. Swamiji's relations with me continue till today to be most friendly and cooperative, so good and noble a Gandhian has been. In Parliament he was quiet spoken but he was always trying to be constructive,

rather than being rhetorical. In personal contacts, he is extremely courteous. Only the late Swami Sitaram of Andhra could be likened to him among the political leaders of those four golden Gandhian decades, in their balanced devotion to constructive work and spiritualised political service.

I pray that Ramanand Tirtha should be blessed with health, happiness and hundred years of useful and good life.



SWAMIJI AS A TRADE UNIONIST

R A KHEDGIKAR

SWAMIJI'S original name was Venkatesh Bhawanrao Khedgikar. His father was my eldest brother who brought me up when I was only five years old having lost my father. My brother that is Venkatesh's father was a great Philosopher and a Yogi. His teachings have moulded both mine and his son's character from our childhood which stood the tests in our future life.

After Venkatesh's mother's death I brought him for his further education with me. He was a brilliant student throughout and passed his matriculation without any interruption. By this time, the National movement for freedom that is the Non-cooperation Movement started by Mahatma Gandhi was in full swing. His call for boycott of all Government institutions, Colleges and High Schools, aided by Government and for boycott of British goods was responded to by a large number of people. Pleaders left their practice, Professors and students left their colleges, some of the Indian Civil servants also joined the movement, village officers refused to serve, the peasantry refused to pay the land revenue. The atmosphere throughout the country was surpassed by the unprecedented wave of National Movement. Our young Khedgikar was not an exception. He decided to contribute his mite to the National Movement at a proper time. He joined

the National College at Amalner run by the patriotic professors who had resigned from Government aided colleges. Professor Gupte, now known as Swami Kuvalayanand was its Principal. Young Khedgikar was waiting for an opportunity to plunge himself into the National Movement. At this time there was a stir among the peasantry of Mulshi Petha in Poona district. The Political leaders of Poona district started a Satyagraha movement in order to get back the lands confiscated for the purpose of starting Hydro Electric work to supply electricity power to Bombay. Sri V B Khedgikar took this opportunity and became a volunteer in the Satyagraha movement while still studying in the College. He was sentenced and sent to jail. He gained personal experience during this Satyagraha how poor uneducated peasants were exploited and were deprived of their only means of livelihood in the interest of richer class. It was in this struggle that he took a vow to work for the emancipation of the down-trodden masses. Thus the ground was prepared for him to enter the Trade Union Movement.

After graduation from the Tilak University and after serious consideration for a number of days without consulting anyone he took his independent decision to take up the Trade Union work and to dedicate his future life for

the welfare of exploited masses. His decision was not at all influenced by me though being his uncle and guardian and working then in the Trade Union movement for over twelve years I mention this simply because he preferred the Trade Union Movement not because of my working in it I emphatically urge that his decision was purely his own for which neither he nor I was ever sorry

His decision to work in the Trade Union Movement under the guidance of late Shri N M Joshi, the veteran labour leader who was known as the father of the Indian Trade Union Movement was wise one He joined Shri N M Joshi in the year 1927 and started working in the Textile Labour Union in Bombay and Continued working there till 1928 During this period he made the best use of the reports of the I L O dealing with the International Labour problems

The Trade Union Movement had received a great impetus between the period of 1920-1930 The movement was getting stronger and stronger and there were long drawn strikes throughout the country in almost every industry, particularly in Railways, Textiles, Mines and Transport and Post and Telegraphs Departments in order to get their service conditions improved Sholapur Textile workers were much agitated on account of their miserable service conditions and low wages They were preparing for direct action Shri N M Joshi sent him to Sholapur in the latter half of 1928 to organise and lead them on sound lines The Textile workers of Sholapur numbering over 20,000 went on strike in January 1929 All the mills were affected and the strike continued for three months Picketing was resorted Both the employers and the Government did their best to break the strike Young Khedgikar was sentenced and sent to jail In this strike he gained person-

al experience of the hardships and rigours a Trade Union worker had to face He was called back to Bombay in June 1929 I wish to make a special mention of a glaring example of the mentality of the employers that they not being content with efforts they made to crush the movement but went a step further and filed a Civil suit against the strikers and their leaders to make good the losses suffered by the Textile Industry of Sholapur on account of the long drawn out strike This was the first instance in the history of the Trade Union Movement in this country and the challenge was taken up in right earnest by one and all and carried on a vigorous propaganda against such high handed action of mill owners throughout India The agitation was so effective that the Government was forced to advise the mill owners to withdraw the suit which they more reluctantly did

Shri N M Joshi thought it proper that Shri V. B. Khedgikar should have the knowledge of the legislative work as well and therefore he took him to Delhi as his private secretary so that he can observe the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly during the winter session

While in Delhi Shri V. B. Khedgikar unfortunately got a serious attack of paralysis on account of severe cold there He was bed-ridden for a number of years and was incapacitated for any movement All of us had lost faith of his recovery but God wished that he must survive and be useful for national work though not in the Trade Union field

Thanks to Dr Gune of Ahmadnagar He recovered from this paralytic attack though slight defects remained which even now can be seen He was physically found not suitable for the Trade Union work which can even now be seen He was physically found not suitable for the Trade Union work which can only be usefully performed by a person with a strong

we take Khadi or Gramdan. It is not clear if the philosophy underlying both has been accepted by the 'State sector'. This is the real reason for the incongruity in both the sectors. And in the absence of a full throated agreement

the two sectors cannot be complementary. Constructive work in India is trying to find way out of this dilemma, and its present deficiencies and drawbacks proceed from this basic incongruity.





Swamiiji Paying his homage immediately after his release in 1948 to the father of the nation at Rajghat, Delhi.



Swamiiji with Jayaprakash Narayan

constitution In spite of his decision to dedicate his whole life for the Trade Union work, the fate decided otherwise and his brilliant career in the Trade Union Movement came to an abrupt end !

Though his career in the Trade Union field came to an end I am glad to find that he did yeomen services in the education field which will remain as his noble work for many years to come As regards his political activities there cannot be any comparison It was easier to work in British India but to carry on political activities in an Indian State was difficult He had to go through great hardships and go

through a number of jail returns He was kept away from other political convicts and his health completely broke down which he has not recouped even today These facts are well known to his political colleagues and followers Though he was physically gone very weak his mind and determination to continue to work for the uplift of his countrymen, particularly the poor class is unshakable On this occasion of his 61st Birthday celebration I as his uncle and elderly person in the family wish him a long life and sound health and may he continue to give his useful services to our countrymen for years to come

Jas Hind



A CONSTRUCTIVE WORKER

R. K. PATIL

I first came in contact with Sri Swami Ramnanda Tirtha in 1944, and have had the privilege of his friendship ever since. Swamiji is one of the remaining few of an older generation, which had received the *बाल कइ* of a life of devotion and sacrifice for the cause of the mother-land. True to it, he has been a life of complete dedication and service to the people of India, and more particularly to the people of the old Hyderabad State. To remain a life-long bachelor due to a belief in the superior value of such a life is an ideal many might cherish, but few can accomplish. It personifies an attitude of self-less and devoted service and Swamiji has been a rare example of that noble endeavour. Few however know that he has been inspired by the life of Sri Swami Ramtirtha, whom he considers as his spiritual preceptor.

Like all other constructive workers Swamiji devoted himself to the propagation of Khadi and he has been the main inspiration and chief coordinator of the Hyderabad Khadi Samiti. He has also floated many educational institutions, the most notable amongst them being the Nanded College and the educational institutions of Mominabad. He was the doyen of all the constructive workers in the old Hyderabad State and has been the chief motive force

behind many institutions of constructive work in the whole state.

But it was during the people's struggle for self government in the old Hyderabad State, that his leadership was very severely tested. Swamiji had to suffer serious disappointments, and even incur the wrath of national leaders, mostly because, self-seeking persons misinformed them and Swamiji could never change his opinion, then very unpopular, that the only thing to do with the old Hyderabad State was to dismember it. Subsequent events proved that Swamiji was entirely right, but as the time was not then ripe for such action, he paid the penalty for following his convictions by suffering temporary disfavour, with the then wielders of political power in India.

Today Swamiji has again returned to constructive work and along with other constructive workers faces the same dilemma. In a modern state the 'State sector' is bound to washadow the section of 'voluntary work' in which category all constructive work falls. And this is so in spite of democratic decentralisation. Power and authority in a modern state, in spite of decentralisation has a tendency to get uncentred and therefore in order to be effective the sector of voluntary work must agree in all respects with the 'State section'. Unfortunately this is not so, in India, whether



Swamiji with his guruji Sri Narayan Swami.



Swamiji with Acharya Vinoba Bhave



Swamiji with Pattabhi Sektaramayya



Swamiji and D. G. Bindu.

SWAMIJI AN APPRECIATION

N V GADGIL

SWAMI Ramananda Tirtha, is a household word in the erstwhile Hyderabad State, and in particular in Marathwada, even today Swami Ramananda Tirtha got inspiration for public service from Lokmanya Tilak, Swami Vivekananda, and Swami Ramtirtha. In fact, very early in his life, he decided to devote his entire time and energy for public service. The generation to which he belonged got its inspiration from leaders of the Congress in political matters, and guidance in matters moral and spiritual from great personalities like Ramakrishna Paramahansa, and Swami Ramtirtha.

The first decade of the present century witnessed many young men renouncing the pleasures of life and devoting themselves in a single minded manner to public causes. The second and third decade of this century which witnessed the First World War and its after effects, also witnessed a tremendous political upsurge in India. Lokmanya Tilak who was released in 1914 after six years sentence in Mandalay Jail, took to active public life and was principally responsible for the Home Rule Agitation. In 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India permanently. He travelled throughout the country for one year and then joined the Congress in 1916. These were glorious times. The first World War was being fought bitterly

for great and momentous issues. Whatever may be the ultimate aims of the contestants, the proclaimed aims were that the War was being fought for preservation of Democracy and the right of self determination for countries who were entitled to nationhood. These were undoubtedly great times. To be alive was a pleasure, and to be young was heaven itself.

Swamiiji started his public life in the background stated above. He took to labour activities, he also worked in the education field, but his real contribution was towards the emancipation of Hyderabad from feudalism of the Nizam rule. He participated in the Indian movement for Freedom and suffered along with a thousand others in the country. The establishment of a responsible government and Democratic Government in the various Indian States, was a part of a greater movement for Indian Freedom. Swamiiji was a prominent worker in the Movement conducted by the Indian States People's Conference. In this context he concentrated his attention on the Hyderabad problem. In 1945, May, the second World War was over. General Elections took place in England and the Labour Party came to power. It was evident that further political progress towards freedom as far as India was concerned, was due and steps would soon be taken. The history of the Cabinet Mission,

the measure of its success and the measure of its failure, are matters of common knowledge. In September 1946, the Interim Government came to power in the Centre, while popular Government functioned in the various provinces in India. The few months that followed the assumption of power by the Interim Government, were months of anxiety and trouble and constituted a challenge both for the statesmanship of Indian and British leadership. On August 15th, 1947, power was transferred and the first Ministry headed by Pandit Nehru took over the administration. A day or two after that, Swamiji saw me in Delhi and asked my advice as to what should be done in Hyderabad. My first advice was not to have any compromise with the Nizam unless he completely parted with power. The second, was activities should be absolutely non violent and I assured him that Hyderabad would be liquidated in less than two years. I bid him goodbye and he left for Hyderabad. What happened after August 1947, is well known. On 12th September, 1948, Indian Armies marched into Hyderabad territory and the Nizam's armies surrendered on 18th September 1948 and if a tactless step had not been taken by India's Agent General at Hyderabad, the State of Hyderabad would have been over even within a few days of the surrender referred to above. Somehow or other, the establishment of responsible government in Hyderabad took a year, and another five years for liquidation

of the unnatural and trilingual state of Hyderabad. And in all that happened in Hyderabad, Swamiji played an important part. He always stood firm by his ideals, and never put expediency before conviction, any immediate advantage before accepted philosophy.

Swamiji was a member of the Lok Sabha for a number of years and though he spoke rarely, but whenever he did, he spoke with vigour and effect.

After the liquidation of Hyderabad State, Swamiji has more or less withdrawn from political activities and is now devoting himself more and more to Education work. He is associated with several educational institutions in Hyderabad and I have no doubt, he will continue to take great interest in these activities. He is still a source of inspiration to many young men in Marathwada and Hyderabad. A philosopher and Guide for Political and social workers. Swamiji has no self interest. In fact he has no other interest than that of the people.

His outlook is always constructive and I have never found him, during my long associations with him, any time dogmatic, although he has always been firm. Verily, the present generation looks upon him as one of the architects of freedom, a great social worker, and a great educationist. I have no doubt, this will always be the judgement of future generations.



SWAMIJI'S CONTRIBUTION FOR THE CREATION OF SAMYUKTA MAHARASHTRA

D. K. KUNTE

SWAMI Ramananda Tirtha who completes sixty years of his life on 3rd October '63 has been a wellknown figure for many years in the public life of this country especially in the cause of the downtrodden people suffering under the harsh rule of the Nizam. Long before I had privilege of personally knowing him, he was known as a selfless fighter for Independence and self rule for the States people who had become a Sanyasi with a view to give his best to the cause. His selfless service has recently put him at the head of the followers of the great Swami Ramtirtha of the Punjab.

In this article I propose to touch just one of the facets of his life namely his contribution in the creation of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay as its capital. Long before the merger of the princely States was an accomplished fact as a matter of fact in days when it was not clear whether the Nizam and those like him would yield to the right demands of the States' people Swamiji had come to the conclusion that the Hyderabad State must yield authority to the people of the State and must also disintegrate by allowing the component linguistic parts to become integral part of the Marathi, Kannad and Telugu people. His ideas on the point being crystal clear they contributed towards the harmony in the fight which the Telugu, Marathi and Kannad people conducted

against the mighty power of the Nizam. When ultimately the Nizam yielded and the Razakars had been routed both by State authority and the resistance of the public, the Hyderabad State became one of the 'B' class states under the Indian Constitution and our Prime Minister had expressed a hope that Hyderabad would continue to be an outstanding example of a composite culture. But even when such thoughts were being expressed by a personage like Panditji, Swamiji was very clear in that the Hyderabad State must disintegrate and be merged into adjoining regions. He expressed these views of his in Parliament and in public with conviction and singleness of purpose.

When the States Reorganisation Commission was appointed and the demand for the Maharashtra State was being formulated he was one of the leading members of the organisation namely the Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad, which was formed to give shape and lead to the demand. He took prominent part in the deliberations of this organisation and also in giving evidence before the S. R. Commission. The one great contribution he made at the time was that under his leadership the Marathwada region unanimously accepted and supported the demand without any condition. It was well-known that there are friends in Nag-Vidarbha and Bombay who held different views

and though the Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad was able to bring about the Nagpur pact by which the doubts of friends from Nag-Vidarbha were set at rest the fact remains that the pact had to be arrived at and that a large number of those working in the political field especially like Sri Aney leading Lieutenant of the great Lokmanya could not give consent. Again I would fail in correct appraisal if I were not to mention the great contribution that Swamiji made in enabling the Nagpur pact to be an accomplished fact. As one who participated in the deliberations I remember that there was a moment when it appeared as if the legitimate differences could not be ironed out. At this stage Swamiji as a representative of the Marathwada region which had no misgivings and made no conditions was a creative help.

On the eve of the publication of the S R Commission's report rumours were current and forecasts were being published about the creation of a separate Vidarbha State and bilingual State of Gujrat and the Marathi speaking areas except Vidarbha with Bombay as its capital. The leaders of the Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad as well as the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee viewed this with misgivings and resented against the proposed step in very clear language. After the actual publication of the report on 10th Sept 1955 it was found that the misgivings were justified.

In mid October 1955 the Maharashtra Congress leaders along with Sri Shankar Rao Deo met Panditji, Moulana Azad and Pandit Govind Vallabha Pant in New Delhi and out of these talks Sri Shankarrao Deo made the proposal of forming a bigger bilingual Bombay State comprising of all the Marathi and Gujrathi speaking areas with Bombay as capital. Swamiji was opposed to this in principle and yet out of a sense of comradeship he accepted it and made friends in Marathwada accept it.

A number of developments took place which tried the patience and perseverance of the supporters of Samyukta Maharashtra and ultimately the bigger bilingual was formed under the States Reorganisation Act. After four years of this experiment ultimately Government of India created the two separate States of Maharashtra and Gujrath. Through all these Swamiji steered clear and gave the correct advice. But the zigzag developments created a number of complications for those who stood loyally with Swamiji but the philosophical way in which those friends have taken speaks highly of the loyalty and comradeship and of the great regard which Swamiji has inspired about himself in them.

I humbly bow to this selfless worker and pray to God that he be given a long healthy and purposeful life to serve humanity.





Swamiji with Panditji Moulana Azad and Balwant Rai Mehta

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SWAMI RAMANANDA TIRTH - OUR SENIOR SENTINEL

SRI. V. S. PAGE

I AM not much used to writing, much less in a foreign tongue. But I cannot refuse to do so when Shri Pangrekar has asked me, though I feel a little embarrassed in this task as I am working too intimately with Swamiji in our Khadi Gramodyog work. But this very fact enables me to say a few words by way of my paying a tribute to him on his entering the last quarter of his life, namely, the traditional sanyasa period as per Hindu Ashramic conception.

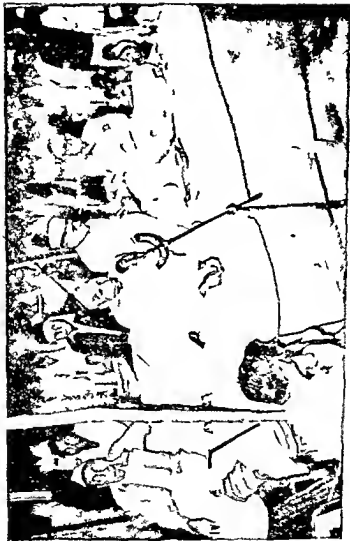
With renaissance in Hindu religious ideals in the last quarter of the last century, the conception of sanyasa underwent a revolutionary change. Swami Vivekananda and Swami Ramtirth, both university Graduates, lived and preached the sanyasi's life with highest spiritual attainments expressed in disinterested social service. Swami Ramanand Tirth, then a young Graduate, was not only attracted by these ideals, but got himself initiated into sanyasa by Shri Narayanswami, the chief disciple of Swami Ramtirth.

In the twenties and thirties, the national leaders gave a clarion call to give up all for fight for freedom. Swamiji had not entered sansar or householder's life, but had already accepted life of renunciation. In answer to the spirit of the age he accepted renunciation and joined the national movement. He fought

in the company of other national leaders the battles and the last war of Indian Independence with all its attendant trials and tribulations, but the distinct role which he played in Hyderabad merger affair deserves our special attention.

There was despotic rule under Islamic garb and people in Hyderabad State, subjected to unprecedented tyranny, stood in need of a leader who could mobilise the strength of resistance. Swamiji was destined to lead with professedly Hindu sanyasi garb and thorough national spirit. He has once told me that he had some Muslim compatriots as his allies in this battle with the Nizam and some Hindu opponents too, callously collaborating with the ruling Prince. Thus the character of the fight was nationalistic and not the least communal. The merger of Hyderabad is a glorious chapter in Indian history of national consolidation. It is a tragic comedy and Swamiji is the main actor on the stage in that drama. He played the role of an underground worker, a prisoner behind the bars and as an adviser of our national leaders in the Hyderabad affair.

After the Hyderabad merger he led the life of a parliamentarian for some time. He was sitting in the Parliament at Delhi as an elected member of that august House, but his chief interest lay in the constructive programme as envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi.



Swamiji with Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe Shri V S Page and others at the opening function of the Khadi Gramodyog Bhandar, Aurangabad on 17th Jan 1963

SWAMIJI AND KARNATAK

JAGANNATH RAO CHANDRIKI

DURING the freedom struggle in the former Hyderabad State, Swami Ramananda Tirtha was a symbol of liberty and equality, courage and conviction. He had always befriended progressive forces and opposed all reactionary elements. He had never compromised with those who had even remotely any sympathy with the autocratic regime of the Nizam which had suppressed all civil rights and made constant efforts to perpetuate minority rule over the majority.

Swami's views on social and economic problems were definite, clear and unambiguous. His courageous leadership rallied all sections of the people to revolt against the onslaught on civil liberties and the atrocities committed by unsocial elements. Among those that acknowledged his leadership under the banner of the State Congress, students and peasants were prominent. The State Congress which he led gave the clarion call to the people that sovereignty rested with the people and that responsible government was their legitimate right. The inveterate fight he put up against the autocratic regime invested him with respect and prestige which made him the acknowledged leader of the poor and the down-trodden, the workers and the peasants and the vast masses of the Hyderabad State.

The princely State of Hyderabad was divided

with three linguistic regions—Telangana, Marathwada and Karnatak. In these regions the Andhra Mahasabha in Telangana, the Maharashtra Parishad in Marathwada and the Karnatak Conference in Karnataka were striving for establishing civil rights and responsible government.

By the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress, the activities of these three associations were merged into it and they became component parts of the Congress. The activities of the State Congress had to reach every nook and corner of the State. Swami, who had an active part to play, naturally extended his activities to all parts of the State and his progressive ideas formed an echo in the hearts of the people all over the State. The socio-economic problems, which took an acute and accentuated form in Telangana, required the dynamic leadership of Swami, who kept himself in constant touch with the suffering people. In Karnatak, the young workers who received guidance from Swami, spread themselves in the whole region and carried the message of freedom and stirred up the people, to a new awareness of their rights. Thus the foundations of a new movement under the State Congress were firmly laid. The late Shri J. K. Pranesacharya was primarily responsible for creating a young and enthusiastic cadre of

Swamiji at present is my senior colleague in the Maharashtra State Khadi & Gramodyog Mandal. I often avail of his advice, guidance and I have found that his views have always been unprejudiced and thoroughly balanced. I have found that he has the highest regard for public funds and takes great care in the utilisation thereof. He is a leading figure in the Hyderabad Khadi Samiti, functioning in Andhra, Karnatak and Maharashtra State. In its rural reconstruction programme his views have all along been well considered and in keeping with the spirit of Gandhian ideology. His attitude has all along been both constructive and tolerant.

Swamiji's services to Maharashtra during Samyukta Maharashtra movement can be said to be unforgettable. He, I was observing from a respectable distance, was determined in demand and disciplined in demanding. His approach as a prominent leader of ex Hyderabad territory of present Maharashtra was very helpful in integrating Marathi speaking people into one homogeneous State.

It is not enough to pay tribute to him and offer paper prayers to God Almighty to grant him long and healthy life of a hundred or more years - which I heartily do in an humble spirit - but my generation is in duty bound to imbibes the spirit of his generation - I must say the spirit of pristine purity in our public life. It is the need of the hour. Simple living high thinking respect and care for public funds disinterested service for the cause of the poor. Very clear conception of public service conscious

attempt for a spiritual assent, and, above all, sacrifice of self interest and renunciation of everything in the cause of humanity. These are the facets of this purity with purpose. What a grand ideal! The path of public service in social life and even in politics as a means to spiritual progress - this is the core of this ideal.

This new conception of spirituality has been the guiding star of the last eighty years of Indian life. When one is reminded of great men of the last four or five generations who lived and died for these ideals, one is struck with wonder and stands amazed, gazing at the azure dome of Indian public life where Swami Ramkrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Ramtirth, Sri Rahindranath Tagore Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi and a host of others shine bright like a thousand Suns,

दिवि सूर्य सहस्रस्य भवेद्युगपद्युत्थिता ।

यदि भा सदृशी सा स्यादसत्तास्य महात्मन ॥

If the light of thousand Suns would simultaneously blaze in the heavens, that would be comparable to the glory of these great souls.

Swami Ramananda Tirth is a bright morning star in this galaxy on the horizon of Hyderabad. With clear calm bright light that never fades with age nor dazzles with knowledge, the eyes of common men like me. With soothing silent service enlivening love, he leads us on the right path. He kindles with his kindness *vital lampada*, vital lamp of heroic struggle in the hearts of the younger generation. May God, the Almighty bless him with long and happy life.



Swamiji with Members of the Working Committee, Hyderabad State Congress, 1947-48

workers in Karnatak who played a magnificent role during the Satyagraha movement organised by the State Congress. The response from the people was spontaneous in Karnatak and the spirit of sacrifice among them was no less than that exhibited in other parts—Telangana and Marathwada. It was far beyond our expectations. Till then we did not assess properly the strength, determination and devotion of Kannadigas.

I was arrested before the Satyagraha movement was actually started in 1947. I was in the Central Jail of Gulhargha with my colleague Shri K. Mallappa for sometime. During that period, having been deprived of freedom we were obsessed with a sense of helplessness. We could do nothing except to watch how our people in Karnatak responded to the call of the Congress. It thrilled us to know that our people were responding splendidly despite the brutalities of the administration and the atrocious conduct of the Razakars. Batches after batches of Satyagrahis poured into the jail carrying tales of inhuman persecution and deeds of heroism of the Satyagrahis. The satyagraha movement grew into the dimensions of a tremendous people's movement and the strides it took kept our spirits up. We pondered over the root cause for this magnificent response to the call of the Congress. We could discover the secret of this tremendous response only when we were all released after the police action and once again we were free to go about and mix with the people.

Sometime after the Police action we organised a tour for Swami Ramanand Tirtha who was then the President of the State Congress. The tour has a splendid success. Thousands of people thronged to the meetings and people in villages waited patiently to hear him even when we could not keep to the schedule,

reaching the meeting places late in the night. People, young and old, men, women and children, even without taking food, waited for hours to listen to Swamiji. People were inspired by his message. He told them that under Congress rule, the soil would belong to the tiller and the distinction between the poor and the rich would disappear. He exhorted people to discard ill-will and wanted them to try to eradicate the curse of untouchability. People heard him with great attention and frequently applauded him when he condemned Social barriers and economic discrimination.

The Karnatak region of Hyderabad was industrially backward. But there were many big Zamindars who were mostly absentee landlords. The tenants suffered from insecurity of tenancy and they had to depend on the mercy of the landlords. They were liable to ejection according to the whims and fancies of the landlord. This state of affairs brought about the economic ruin of the tenants who formed the bulk of the population. I well remember how a whole village came to receive Swamiji. It was a Jagir village and all the people were utterly poor. They told Swamiji in one voice that they all hoped that under the leadership of Swamiji, they, who were all tenants, would become owners of the soil they tilled. It was the grim determination of the people which had nourished and strengthened the State Congress and this we found was the secret of the success of the movement over which we pondered in the jail. We were moved by the sight of these impoverished people and we gave them the assurance that very soon the Jagirdari and the Zamindari System would be abolished and there would be security of tenure and the tiller would be the owner of the soil.

Thus the subsequent developments in the

political set-up of the State, ushered in a new era of democratic government in the State. People for the first time sent their chosen representatives to the State Assembly. The Congress commanded a majority in the Assembly and the first Congress Ministry was sworn-in on 6th March, 1952, with Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao as the Chief Minister.

The first and the foremost task before us was to fulfil our pledges to the people. These pledges refer to land legislation, mainly. In the whole country administered by the Congress, the daring step of fixing land ceiling, was undertaken in Hyderabad State through the dynamic leadership of Swamiji. The result

was the enactment known as the "Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act". To Swamiji goes the credit, mainly, for this radical and progressive legislation.

The people of Karnatak, especially the poor and downtrodden, remember Swamiji with gratitude as their benefactor, their leader and their guide. May I convey to him on this august occasion of his completion of sixty years, the inestimable love and affection which people of Karnataka bear for him and may I also wish him many more years of useful, patriotic service to the country and the people amidst whom he worked during the best part of his life.





Swamiji with Kannamwar Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Govinddas shrofi and others



Swamiji M Hanmant Rao and
B Ra nkrishna Rao with Panditji

had approached several leading personalities of Hyderabad and requested them to take up the lead of the movement and ultimately he was successful in persuading Sri Govindrao Nanal a veteran leader from Marathwada and the first President of Maharashtra Conference to lead the movement and become the first President of Hyderabad State Congress. It is not necessary here to give the details of the movement. It is sufficient to say that the movement was duly conducted for a couple of months and was suspended under the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. It was not expected that merely on account of this movement the ban would be lifted and it so happened that through the mediation of Mahatma Gandhi although the Satyagrahis were released after a few months, the ban on the State Congress continued for several years.

If we review the political events from 1918 to 1938, we would find that the attempts made for the political rights of the people were so far at random and were not supported by any determination. Every time an attempt was made, it was given up merely because it was opposed by the Government. The methods employed were of working on the least resistance and our political actions were restricted to representations and negotiations. Generally any work involving risk was avoided. This had produced a disastrous result. Government had become more and more tyrannical and was determined to crush all democratic aspirations of the people. Since the year 1929 even non-political activities had to be carried on with the permission and under the supervision of the authorities. Social and educational meetings and even schools and libraries were covered by the notorious circular No. 53 of 1929.

It should be said to the credit of Sri Madapati Hanmanthrao that he tried to organise the

people in Telengana in the form of Andhra Mahasabha and achieved a great success. The Mahasabha was for all intents and purposes a non-political organisation and yet it had provided a forum for all the public men in Telengana to meet together and discuss problems of public interest. It was necessary for Sri M. Hanmanthrao to exert a great deal for this organisation and he was only able to build it with great patience, tenacity and determination. This was a great work of fundamental importance and ultimately helped the Hyderabad State Congress as it would be seen later. Andhra Mahasabha was emulated in course of time in the regions of Karnatak and Marathwada as well and by the year 1937, all the three regional conferences were fully working. Although Swamiji had not joined any of these conferences, he was sympathetic with them and was in close contact with their working. Even when Swamiji had not joined the political field he was present in the first session of Maharashtra Conference at Partur and was immensely benefited with the contact with new young workers who had met together for the first time. At the second session of the Maharashtra Conference at Latur there was a great hitch between the organisers of the Conference and the authorities and the conference had been abruptly closed as a protest, as it was interfered with by the District Collector. It was in this session that Swamiji was appointed as a convener of the Special Sub-Committee which has already been referred to.

When the Satyagraha of 1938 was over, some people who had connections with the Regional Conferences had begun to work through them as before. This was not approved by some of the State Congress workers. However the view prevailed that even when the Hyderabad State Congress was illegal it would

SWAMIJI'S ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF HYDERABAD STATE CONGRESS

D G BINDU

THE idea of the Hyderabad State Congress as a statewide noncommunal political organisation was conceived early in 1938, by some prominent public leaders in the city of Hyderabad. Swamiji was not one of them. He was also not a member of the Provisional Committee which was formed to enrol primary members and to take further necessary steps for the regular formation of the organisation. Swamiji had enrolled himself as a primary member along with many of us. It was decided that a general body meeting should meet on 9th September 38 to adopt a constitution and elect the office-bearers of this organisation. Prior to this meeting a notification was issued by the Nizam's Government through which the formation of the State Congress was banned under Public Safety Regulations. The meeting was, therefore, postponed and for a time to come a number of representations and negotiations were carried on with the authorities.

Swamiji had by then shifted his headquarters to Hyderabad as convener of a Special Sub-Committee appointed by the Maharashtra Conference at Latur. The Sub-Committee was intended to deal with the problem of Civil Liberties in Hyderabad State. Swamiji had long before he accepted this responsibility studied the political situation in the State and also had thought over the general approach

that he should adopt for the improvement of the situation. He had also contacted several public men and a number of active workers had pledged to him that they would willingly join any movement on the lines of a peaceful satyagraha to vindicate the rights of the people.

When the State Congress was banned and when it was found that there were no hopes of the removal of the ban through negotiations, Swamiji felt after necessary consultation with other members of the Sub-Committee that the cause of the Hyderabad State Congress would be a basic and a very important issue for any popular movement as visualised by him. His attitude encouraged several workers who were connected with the Provisional Committee of State Congress and it was mainly through the attempts made by Swamiji that ultimately the Provisional Committee accepted in principle that there was no other way except the one of a satyagraha movement. I was in those days very closely connected with Swamiji and can assert with confidence that he never aspired to be a leader of the movement nor did he want to come to lime light. He was however, very insistent that the opportunity should not be given up and he thought that it was a great challenge to the people and it should be accepted with all the strength that we can have. He

had approached several leading personalities of Hyderabad and requested them to take up the lead of the movement and ultimately he was successful in persuading Sri Govindrao Nanal a veteran leader from Marathwada and the first President of Maharashtra Conference to lead the movement and become the first President of Hyderabad State Congress. It is not necessary here to give the details of the movement. It is sufficient to say that the movement was duly conducted for a couple of months and was suspended under the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. It was not expected that merely on account of this movement the ban would be lifted and it so happened that through the mediation of Mahatma Gandhi although the Satyagrahis were released after a few months, the ban on the State Congress continued for several years.

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When the Satyagraha of 1938 was over, some people who had connections with the Regional Conferences had begun to work through them as before. This was not approved by some of the State Congress workers. However the view prevailed that even when the Hyderabad State Congress was illegal it would

be proper for congressmen to work through the Regional bodies, organise the people and gradually strengthen them which would ultimately strengthen the State Congress. Swamiji also accepted this view and although he kept himself aloof from the Regional Conferences formally, he continued the live contacts with field workers, looked into their difficulties and tried to solve them as much as he could. His motto was 'Take care of the workers and they will take care of the work'.

Sri Govindrao Nanal, the first President of State Congress was after a few months of the release unable to move on account of illhealth and entrusted the work of State Congress to Swamiji and thus Swamiji worked thereafter as the torch-bearer of the State Congress. The Regional Conferences also gradually gave a political bias to their working. Resolutions for removing the ban on the State Congress were passed by all the three Conferences and ultimately they had even adopted Responsible Government as their ideal. A Small Coordination Committee was also formed of all these three Conferences and it was thought necessary that if the ban on the State Congress was not removed all these three conferences should form into Hyderabad State People's Conference as a one single body.

After the first Satyagraha in 1938 Swamiji with blessings of Mahatma Gandhi offered an individual satyagraha in 1940 and was followed by a few individual satyagrahis with the permission of Mahatma Gandhi. After a few months of the release from jail the Quit India movement began in 1942 and Swamiji and some others were arrested and detained by the Government. Ultimately when the Conservative Party of Great Britain was thrown out by the people and the Labour Party was brought

to power there was a great change in the policy regarding India. Negotiations for transfer of power began with the leaders of the Congress, and thus it was in 1946 that the ban on the State Congress was removed.

The Regional Conferences had already developed psychologically as parts of the Hyderabad State Congress. It was not therefore difficult for them to get themselves merged in the State Congress organisation. The State Congress was in exile for about eight years, and yet after the lifting of the ban, it could develop within a short period as fully widespread and well organised body having Taluk & District branches as working units. It was possible only on account of the well selected cadre of workers in all the three regions and Swamiji as a joining link. Some of them were working as Taluk or District Organisers and had built up their contacts with the agriculturists by taking up their problems of day today difficulties.

The need of public life in Hyderabad was a determined team of workers who would be devoted to public cause and prepared to take risks involved in such a work. The role played by Swamiji was thus a very unique and vital one. He was the vanguard of the public movement in Hyderabad and had moulded the organisation in such a manner that it could successfully meet any challenge from the side of the Government and was boldly prepared for the last phase of the freedom struggle. But for Swamiji I very much doubt whether the spirit of sacrifice and courage which was evinced by the people would have been found at all. This is a contribution of the highest importance which he has made and cannot be forgotten by anybody connected with the public life of the then Hyderabad State.

SWAMIJI: A KARMA YOGI

Dr G S MELKOTE, M P.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha will be completing 60, on 3rd October 1963. He is a Sanyasi, a Karma Yogi, a personality who conjures up in our minds many acts of valour, of a non-violent type, of unexpected grit, of hard and sincere work and suffering, in the cause of the freedom-struggle in India, and in breaking up the shackles of a feudal regime in the ex-Hyderabad State, with the ultimate objective of building up a democratic government and ultimately to merge the State as a unit of India, as well as to split it up and to realign it with the contiguous linguistic units. In all this, after tremendous sacrifices and travail he succeeded in all his attempts. What a stupendous task this! Today, one may or one may not agree to what all has transpired since Independence, but no one can deny Swamiji the credit for all this splendid achievement, so well and nobly performed! All glory to him, and therefore, let me join the people in offering him on this day many healthy years of useful life in the service of the Nation.

I have had occasions to live with Swamiji for a number of years and had the privilege to work with him for more than 25 years. I had the pleasure to be his jail-mate twice, when one could watch one at very close quarters. This has enabled me to know and understand Swamiji better and which has emboldened me

to say a few words about him today.

In the march of historic events in India, we find Hyderabad what it is today. Those of us who are older than 20 years, know of another Hyderabad, the ex-Hyderabad, and its State. To know the 'why' and 'how' the present change took place is to know the ex-Hyderabad State, the then Government and its policies and the many men of that time and the part they played but of them all the one man to whom all credit and glory for working up this change to fruition i.e., to obtain to the people the right to organise a representative democratic government as a unit of the federal government of India, and then the splitting up of the old State to join the natural linguistic areas of the neighbouring ones, falls to the lot of Swami Ramananda Tirtha. To the people of Hyderabad, after the Police Action he was the 'uncrowned king' of the State.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha completes 60 years of a devoted active life. During this period of 60 years we witnessed India wage many a non-violent struggle under the superb leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, to break the shackles the British had forged, and India ultimately succeeded in getting Independence on 15th August 1947. The final struggle to get Independence was the famous 'Quit India movement' of 1942, the biggest struggle and it extended to

time in furthering the cause of Khadi and in accordance with the advice of Vinohaji he has been serving the cause of Sarvodaya and Bhoodan. The Hyderabad Khadi Samiti has been developed by him, leaps and bounds and Swamiji, as its Chairman, has been able to extend its activities to many villages both in Andhra and Marathwada. The total production and sale of Khadi, now stands at above 2 crores of rupees, per annum, and the workers employed in the villages are about a lakh and the distribution of wages to the artisans in the rural sector comes up to about 30 lakhs of rupees per year. Swamiji has been a member of the All-India Khadi Board for the past 6 or 7 years. To one who knows Swamiji, his

intellect, his vigour, the simplicity of his life, the befriending of the needy and the poor and the dogged manner in which he pursues to bring to fruition the varied aspects of the activities of the Nation, one could clearly discern now the immense good his entry in the political life of the ex-Hyderabad state has done to the public and also the useful work he is still doing, silently, and unobtrusively in the service of the Nation. I said in the beginning Swamiji is a Karma Yogi and Karma Yoga, is work done efficiently and correctly. This is possible only when work is done willingly and selflessly. Who else in Hyderabad can deserve this name better than Swamiji. All hail Swamiji! Long live Swamiji!





Swaraji and Govinddas Shiroff at a Public Meeting at Aurangabad after Police action

the whole of India including the native States, but the last struggle for the people of the States themselves was fought after India attained Independence in 1947, and this was the worst struggle, from every point of view, that the people of Hyderabad had to wage against its autocratic feudalistic government, whose existence and pattern was considered an anachronism. Repression of the worst type was unleashed at that time, men and women courted imprisonment in their thousands, unheard of violence was allowed to be perpetrated inside the jails, and the civil laws had almost come to a stand-still. In the face of this severe repression, if the people of Hyderabad emerged out of this fire unscathed, it was entirely due to the dynamic leadership offered by Swamiji who wore out his life in jail with thousands of others to see a 'glorious' Hyderabad ushered in, where people of all classes and creed could live as sisters and brothers with the fullest freedom to have a type of Government they desired, and in all this he ultimately succeeded on September 17, 1948. I very well remember several incidents worth mentioning here but I shall speak of only one of them. When Satyagrahi prisoners were allowed to be attacked inside the jails by the outside ruffians and people got panicky, Swamiji sent word to all, that nothing could make him cower down and he would hold aloft the flag from inside the jail till victory was won or his body ceased to exist! What a tremendous faith and bravery! Hence the glory to bring about this culmination belongs to Swamiji, to Swamiji alone, and to none else for it was he who as President of State Congress from 1942 to 1950, trained the youth to leadership, prepared the people in their thousands to face undaunted the might of the rulers. But before he could take up this task he set an example in sacrifice

and fortitude, by offering himself as an ordinary worker in the Hyderabad Congress Satyagraha of 1938, Individual Satyagraha of 1940 and the Quit India struggle of 1942. This set the pattern for others to follow. In whatever he did, he sought the advice of leaders like Mahatmaji and Panditji, and both of them gave him and the people, their best advice and support.

Swamiji is a Sanyasi and dawns on ochre robe, as befitting his order. He is of a moderate height, but lean, and appears to have poor physique. Ever since I knew him in 1937, his health has continued to give his friends and admirers cause for anxiety. Many of us have often wondered when his physical frame would give in and it has been no small wonder to many of us that his activity, in spite of frailty, surpasses our imagination. I often wonder whether this activity is not due to the force of his self, which gives him the courage to face the inevitable and the inevitable itself seems to recede to the background being afraid of him. A very well read man, an M.A., trained under eminent leaders, worked in the Labour movement, he accepted the role of a Sanyasin in keeping with his grand father's trait, intensely devoted to higher ethical principles but not trammeled by orthodoxy, a voracious reader, who keeps himself well informed of the current national and international problems, with no family ties to bog his career, Swamiji with his keen sense of personal discipline, moral vigour, intellectual acumen, wide travel, extensive contact, and tours in the rural areas, and with a keen understanding of their problems entered the political field in Hyderabad in 1937 and since then he has dominated it with no rivals to match his grit, perseverance, sincerity, dogged will to surmount all obstacles thrown in his way, both by the Government

and the liberal leaders. Swamiji has had a varied career. The political unrest in India during his student days in 1920s, and the Poona and Bombay atmosphere helped in moulding his future, political career. Even as a student he is said to have worked for a number of years as Secretary to the late Sri N.M. Joshi of Labour fame and thereby obtained a first hand knowledge of the Labour problems, particularly of the Textile workers in Bombay and Sholapur. His sympathies for the 'underdog' are therefore quite understandable. During the intense tours he undertook in the Hyderabad State before and after Independence, he came into intimate contact with the Kisans, particularly in the Telengana area. It was particularly in this area that the Communists were gaining a foothold. The agrarian problem and the role played by the zamindars with the support of the then, Government gave a fillip to the activities of the Communists. Swamiji's severe and outspoken condemnation of the cruel deeds of the zamindars and the repressive policies of the Government were at once taken full advantage of by the liberal sections, the zamindars and the then Government to duh his activities, and call him a communist. Swamiji worked on with greater zeal to expose, the pretensions of all these groups, and the hollow intentions of the Government as 'saviours' of the downtrodden. To mention about all these events would take pages and pages of writing but it must be said in all fairness to Swamiji that he was unswayed either by praise or unnerved by abuse, but he coolly went about his work and thus helped Hyderabad to end zamindari and Jagirdari systems and to get land reforms enacted to the benefit of tillers of the soil.

Swamiji is a great constructive worker. He worked in a middle school at Hipperga, in the

Osmanabad District, and the first success he scored against the feudal government was to get the school recognised as a high school which permission was rarely given by the then Government, as they wanted severely to control the activities in the private schools. Thereafter, after 1947, he did his best to have at Nanded a People's College, started in 1951, a Science and Arts College, which is now considered one of the best colleges in that area. His love and affection to the student population is proverbial. Students flock to him for help and advice even today. After the break-up of the old Hyderabad State, and the merger of Marathwada with the Bombay State, he worked to help start Marathwada University in 1957. In recognition of his services to education, Swamiji was nominated as a permanent member of the Senate of the Osmania University since 1951. At the meetings of the Senate he participated briefly, but effectively, and to the point. His advice and help is sought often times even today.

Swamiji twice contested successfully to a seat in the Lok Sabha, from Gulherga and Aurangabad constituencies, and worked for a period of 10 years from 1952 to 1962 in the Lok Sabha. It was a pleasure to hear people of all groups discuss his speeches in Parliament and praise him for their sobriety, practicableness, and comprehensive coverage. He enhanced the usefulness of the Treasury benches and his advice was often sought by the elders. The end of 1961 was an year of introspection to many a congressman. Though not observed, strictly as a rule, Congressmen who had put in a Ten year tenure, in the legislature, were expected to make room for others. Swamiji was one of the first to accept this salutary rule, and hence, at his own request, he was relieved to take to public work, outside the legislature. For a number of years, he has been devoting all his

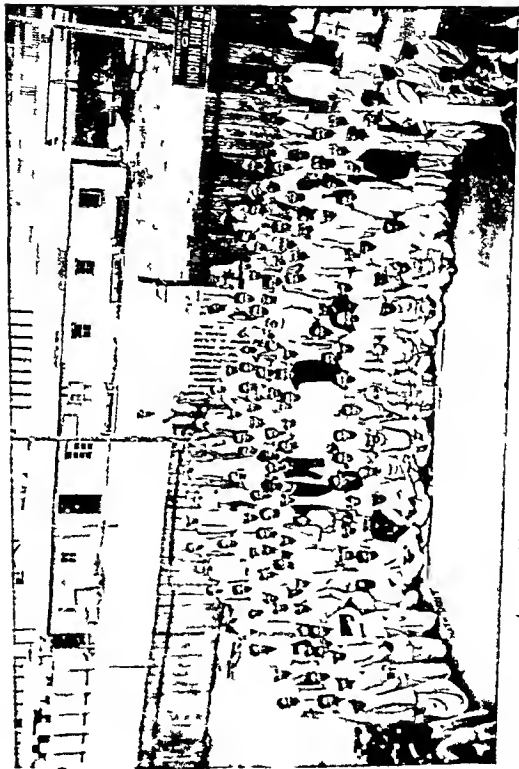
time in furthering the cause of Khadi and in accordance with the advice of Vinobaji he has been serving the cause of Sarvodaya and Bhoodan. The Hyderabad Khadi Samiti has been developed by him, leaps and bounds and Swamiji, as its Chairman, has been able to extend its activities to many villages both in Andhra and Marathwada. The total production and sale of Khadi, now stands at above 2 crores of rupees, per annum, and the workers employed in the villages are about a lakh and the distribution of wages to the artisans in the rural sector comes up to about 30 lakhs of rupees per year. Swamiji has been a member of the All-India Khadi Board for the past 6 or 7 years. To one who knows Swamiji, his

intellect, his vigour, the simplicity of his life, the befriending of the needy and the poor and the dogged manner in which he pursues to bring to fruition the varied aspects of the activities of the Nation, one could clearly discern now the immense good his entry in the political life of the ex-Hyderabad state has done to the public and also the useful work he is still doing, silently, and unobtrusively in the service of the Nation. I said in the beginning Swamiji is a Karma Yogi and Karma Yoga, is work done efficiently and correctly. This is possible only when work is done willingly and selflessly. Who else in Hyderabad can deserve this name better than Swamiji. All hail Swamiji! Long live Swamiji!





Swaraj and Govinddas Shroff at a Public Meeting at Aurangabad after Police action



Students and their colleagues of the State Congress at Mamad Conference

SWAMI RAMANANDA TIRTH AS HYDERABAD STATE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

BAKAR ALI MIRZA, M. P.

SWAMI Ramananda Tirtha's name will always be associated with the freedom of Hyderabad State and the liquidation of its autocratic rule. His name also will be linked with the formation of linguistic states, for the linguistic map could not be drawn without the disintegration of Hyderabad. Swamiji—the architect of Hyderabad's freedom was also the person that saw to its disintegration. These were, in fact, almost his life purposes—I say almost because true Sanyasis in our land have a life purpose greater than even these. It was his rare good fortune to see his mission fulfilled during his lifetime. This was largely due to his singleness of purpose and his clinging devotion to the cause. And to attain these ends, the Hyderabad State Congress was his instrument.

Swamiji was not a politician. Political life was not the one of his choice. No doubt, he had worked with Sri N.M. Joshi—the father of the Indian Trade Union movement and had led a strike at Solapur, but that was only a chapter in his life and he had turned a new page. By taking Sanyas, he had yielded to the inner call for renunciation and given it a physical stamp by putting on the saffron garb. There was no turning back. Political life therefore was no career for him. He was drawn into the Political arena by the call of

the spirit. It is a call that only the worldly men can resist and he was not one of them. It was a call that a true Sanyasi could not resist.

When the call came, Swamiji, was running a school at Mominahad, which by itself was an act of renunciation and defiance. The Nizam's Government of the time had not only denied freedom of press and association to its citizens, but even had put restrictions on the Educational activity of the people, and no private school could be started without the permission of the Government. There was a great deal of discontent in the educated and politically conscious classes, and as Swamiji had successfully defied the Government, he was pressed to work in a wider field. In those days, the Educational Conferences and the regional conferences, with non-political aims were the forum for ventilating in a suppressed way the discontent that was spreading and there were few who had the courage to defy and face oppression. Swamiji very wisely resisted the temptation to take the easier way of working through the regional organisation of Maharashtra Conference and felt the need for an organisation that would cover the entire State. Hyderabad State Congress on the lines of the Indian National Congress was thus conceived. 1937 & 1938, were important years

in the History of freedom movement of Hyderabad Political discontent was growing and seeking outlets for expression Provincial Governments were being formed in British India with provincial autonomy. Hyderabad State could not but feel the impact of thought currents from outside This only added to the restlessness Expression was sought through a demand for civil liberties in the Regional Conferences and by the formation of the Hindu Civil Liberties Union and the agitation by the Aryasamaj A sense of purpose and direction could be obtained by the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress for the attainment of Responsible Government under the aegis of the Nizam Hardly a Provisional Committee was formed and members enrolled, the Government of Hyderabad, soaked in the medieval concept of Government, came down with a bang and declared that Hyderabad State Congress, if formed, to be an unlawful association under the Public Safety Regulation It prefaced the order by stating that it had no objection to the establishment of political organisation provided these are on a strictly non-communal basis and have no affiliation outside the State In the Government's view,

the movement ostensibly political in fact, was a cloak for subversive communal activities to which the prestige of the name "Congress" has been deliberately attached for misleading the public, and as an additional argument it added, that "some men associated with the organisation are communal" Thus has been the attitude and approach of the Nizam's Government all through the eight years that the State Congress continued its illegal existence under the ban though in the meantime a global war had started and ended and the world map redrawn Anyway, faced with this order, some organisers were inclined to take up the path

of negotiation with the Government It was at this critical moment of 'To be or not to be' for the Congress that Swamiji stepped in and began an active role in its affairs

Swamiji along with Sri A K Waghmare and Sri D G Bindu and some other youngmen had taken a pledge in 1937 to sacrifice their all for the country's freedom The feeling among the younger generation was to reject Government's conditions for recognition They were ready to redeem the pledge and to offer Satyagraha Provisional Committee was dissolved, and a new Working Committee was formed with Sri Govindrao Nanal as the first President, and Messrs Ramkrishna Dhoot, Jaardhanrao Desai, Ravi Narain Reddy and Srinivasrao Borikar as members Swami Ramoanda Tirtha was selected as the first dictator to offer Satyagraha It was on the auspicious Diwali day of 24th October 1938 that Nanal formally announced the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress and three days later on the 27th October, Swamiji offered Satyagraha and was quickly arrested In fact the whole Working Committee was put under arrest and prominent Congress workers like Sri M Ramechandrao, Sri D G Bindu and Sri H C Heda and others as well Thus began the formal association of Swamiji with the Hyderabad State Congress, which continued uninterrupted till its very end, when it faded away without any formal ceremony with the disintegration of the State.

Swamiji was sentenced to eighteen months rigorous imprisonment for defying the ban on the Congress Amusingly enough an additional charge was that he had no ostensible means of livelihood A Sanyasi whose philosophy and aim in life is one of non-possession and entire dependence on Bhiksha to be presented with such a charge shows the technical approach of

the administration The formation of the Congress and the satyagraha accompanying it gave an impetus and direction to the movement in the country Students were greatly agitated One student, while being flogged continued to shout Vandemataram at every stroke and for his courage and patriotism was named as Vandemataram Ramchandra Rao, became the focus of Vande Mataram movement The jails began to get filled and the jail walls echoed vandemataram The prisons could not be silenced Flogging was resorted to, which led to hunger-strike After 3 days of hunger strike, the jailor was forced to come to an agreement with Swamiji and the prisoners were allowed to sing Vandemataram once before retiring though not all through the day The principle was conceded and that was the main thing It was agitating other minds as well The Hindu Civil Liberties Union and the Arya Samaj were also carrying on Satyagraha and agitation from their platforms Pandit Narendranath—a courageous leader of the Arya Samaj had not only offered satyagraha himself but had inspired thousands to offer satyagraha to defy the ban on the Congress The Government because of these coincidences was trying to dub the Congress movement as communal In order to avoid the confusion in public mind, Sri Nanal, on his release suspended the Satyagraha movement unconditionally, on the advice of Gandhiji This led to the release of Swamiji

The movement was suspended, Swamiji was released, but the ban on the Congress continued An idea was sent floating that the Government would recognise the organisation if the name was changed The Working Committee moved to Sevagram and Gandhiji advised to continue negotiations believing as he did in going to the extreme limit in dealing

with your adversary, of course without compromising with your principles After a great deal of heart searching, and hesitation, the name was changed into Hyderabad National Conference, and new members were also enrolled only to find the ban was not automatically lifted The Ittebad-ul-Musalmeen was to the Hyderabad State Congress, what the Muslim League was to the Indian National Congress It was a semi-Government wing in the organisational field It had objected to the name then, now it objected to its aim of responsible government New lamps for old is not always profitable Under Gandhiji's advice again, the Conference was dissolved and the original position restored Swamiji was General Secretary and the question was, what next now?

In the meanwhile there were some atrocities committed at Bidar, that was a subject of correspondence between Gandhiji and Sir Akbar Hydari—the Prime Minister of Hyderabad and a judicial enquiry was demanded This agitated the public mind further There was a feeling of being restrained, and that the Indian National Congress was not doing as much for the people of the States as it should, which was partly true They believed Indian States were linked and dependent on British, India, and with the removal of British Government from the latter, the former would gain their freedom without a struggle Moreover, the issue before the National Congress was not one of Good Government or bad government, but of a foreign government that is to be replaced by an Indian Government In Indian States, there were no foreign governments They were only under foreign influence, and while the Prime Ministers in Indian States were the real agents of the British, the targets of the popular movements

were the Maharajahs, men with more pomp than power, mere symbols without real authority. It was perhaps for arguments like these that the Indian National Congress never excited much the Indian States people to action.

Life has its own laws. The Hyderabad Congress was pining and struggling to get into fresh air and its workers were getting restless for fight and action. Gandhiji continued to advise caution. He was examining their armour. Did they believe in non-violence? Have they the necessary strength to bear the cross? He warned them that he will not interfere with Government for their release, and that they would be lost to the world. There were men ready even for that. And it was only after some more deliberation and examination that Swamiji was selected. Gandhiji insisted that only very few would be permitted to offer satyagraha after Swamiji and that every one of those should get his approval. He was leaning more and more on the quality than on the number of satyagrahis.

After his return from Sevagram Swamiji wrote to Sri Akbar Hydari that Government had rejected every advance made by the Congress and no option was left except Satyagraha by him and a few others who believe in non-violence and willing to undergo any sacrifice. He added we wanted to show that we have eschewed all violence and that our fight for responsible government under the aegis of Nizam has no place for ill will in it and thus it is a fight for all irrespective of caste or creed. In reply, the Police entered his house in the middle of the night of 11th November 1940, arrested him, drove him hundred miles away to the Nizamabad jail where he was detained for another fifteen months under the Public Securities Regulation

After release the same problem faced him, for the ban on the Congress continued. Gandhiji advised patience, as he was contemplating an All-India struggle for freedom. The States Peoples Conference met and declared loyalty to the free India. It was there that Sri Nanal agreed to launch a movement but as his health was failing, he delegated all the powers of the President to Swamiji. On 18th January 1942 Swamiji wrote to the Nizam but he was arrested before the letter could be delivered as the Hyderabad Government was well informed about his every move. It was delivered by Dr G. S. Melkote who was also arrested in his turn. Here Swamiji amended the demands. It was Responsible Govt with a declaration of readiness to join as a unit of the Union of India. The emphasis had shifted to all India plane. It was at an opportune time for the Quit India Resolution of the National Congress was interpreted by some as 'Azad Hyderabad', Independent of the rest of India. The movement continued. Sri Govinddas Shroff in Marathwada, Sri Jamala puram Keshavrao in Telengana and Sri Jagan otharao Chandrak in the Karnatak were building up resistance and the strength of the State Congress for the more bitter struggle of 1946-47. Swamiji remained in Jail for another sixteen months for the Hyderabad Govt did not believe in the British India formula of six months.

After his release he found most of the All-India leaders behind bars and he had to give little time to pick up the threads, contact the workers and devote some time propagating and organising. It is only after their release that the States Peoples Conference met at Srinagar under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to deliberate on the next

step in the struggle, decided to face struggle again if ban is not lifted

Meanwhile the world situation had changed. War was over and won, and the British Government was eager to negotiate with the National Congress. The ban on the All India Congress was lifted. Hyderabad also lifted the ban on the AICC but not on the State Congress. It continued to insist on the change of name and also its aim, from responsible government through peaceful and legitimate means to constitutional means so as to eliminate the use of the weapon of satyagraha, further it wanted an affirmation of personal allegiance to the Ruler. All these conditions Swamiji in the name of the Hyderabad State Congress totally rejected, and sent notices to call a meeting in open defiance. His demand for the unconditional lifting of the ban was finally accepted on 21st March 46, after a struggle of eight years.

There was a feeling of triumph with the recognition but with it also there was a sense of greater responsibility. Paradoxically enough, while the tension in British India was slackening, due to Cabinet Mission plans and negotiations at other levels, the tension in the State was increasing. The British Government had one plan for British India and another for Indian States. They wanted to create one other sector of the so called Independent Indian States. Nizam's dream of an independent realm of his own and the Ittehad-Musalmeen fascist activities and their battle cry of Azad Hyderabad fitted like a glove with their scheme. It satisfied the ego of the Nizam and the Ittehad by making them believe that the idea was their own, even though Travancore had advocated this idea of independence before them. And the sabre rattling of the Ittehad

and the show of concern about it by the British covered up all their designs.

The Hyderabad State Congress passed a resolution regretting the stand taken by the Nizam and called upon the people to become the architects of their objective of Responsible Government integrated to the structure of the Indian Union. It gave all powers to the Working Committee to take all necessary action for the achievement of its objective. This led to rumours of arrest, and a wild attack by the Ittehad which was becoming a growing menace. The Working Committee met at Bombay and formed a Committee of Action with Messrs D G Bindu, J K Prane-shacharya, Govinddas Sbroff and Jamlapuram Kesbavrao as its members. Thus penniless, with an office outside the State, equipped with no arms, equipped only with a desire for freedom, these gentlemen launched their final struggle for liberty with Swami Ramananda Tirtha their general in the first rank of the battle array. He went to Hyderabad and launched the movement by Join the Indian Union Day. There were processions, lathicharges and arrests in the districts. He moved, to districts but at Madras, he was not allowed to address and taken into custody and brought back to Hyderabad. On the 15th of August 1947, he was to hoist the national flag that Pandit Nehru had given him for that purpose, but in the middle of the same night while the rest of India was going mad with joy because of the advent of Independence, Swamiji was clapped in jail for asking for freedom. The flag was hoisted by others, and in more than one place with the leader in jail & the Committee of Action outside the frontiers, the movement gained strength and within two months as many as 21,000 were arrested. Inside the jail pressures were brought on him

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and attempts were made to get his cooperation in some new scheme of Government. He had already conducted the boycott of Ayengar Committee reforms, which had introduced the element of functional representation which could have had the virtue of being free from communalism but even that good was taken away by injecting in it the concept of communal parity and communal electorate. He rejected all such advances by Mr Laskar and his agents. He was not made of a stuff that would yield to any circle's songs. Unfortunately, outside jail, one congressman was persuaded to accept a place in the Cabinet. Some people believe they can do some good from within.

Govt of India was seeking a peaceful solution of the Hyderabad problem. Ministers changed but the problem remained. Negotiations seemed to be endless. At last a Standstill Agreement was signed on the 29th of November 1947, and Swamiji was released.

Swamiji was not happy with what he saw outside. The Ittehad was becoming a

by itself and Kasim Razvi and the Ittehad was creating an atmosphere of terror all through the State. He left Hyderabad and after meeting the leaders at Delhi and his Committee of Action returned to Hyderabad as a man burdened with care but with a new resolve. He wrote to the Nizam on 23rd January 48 reiterating the Congress stand about 'Responsible Government and Integration' pointing out that belabouring of Satyagrahis in Nizamabad jail and atrocities at Bibinagar is a stigma to the Ruler and would be disastrous to the State. He asked that such atrocities are stopped and enquiry commission appointed. He stressed that the people were tired of the domination of the Ittehadul Musalmeen. This led to his arrest once again.

The Ittehad was becoming more and more intolerant. It was also the Govt of the day. Insecurity increased, and people fled from the State. Terror was in the air. Even a Muslim—Shoeibulla Khan was murdered in cold blood for advocating integration of the Hyderabad State with India. Pressure mounted on Govt of India for Police Action in Hyderabad. It was on 13th Sept 1948 that Indian Military marched in and 4 days later, the Nizam surrendered.

Swamiji was released but he would not leave the jail alone and leave his comrades behind. He was told that he was being released on the orders of the Govt of India and his presence was required to pacify the people. People who have been suffering so long might in their anger over reach the bounds. Communal excesses did follow. The Military Governor General Chaudhary tried his utmost to hold the balance even and the city maintained a great deal of tranquility, the Ittehad that had equipped its people for victory had not equipped them for adversity. The result was complete demoralisation. In the districts however, some officers had succumbed to power and had lost their head. They were not big enough for the task. It was Swamiji's attempt to get popular element associated with the Government. He had not long to wait for the formation of the Civil Government with prominent Congressmen—Sri B Ramkrishna Rao, Sri D G Bindu, Sri Pooolehand Gandhi, and Sri V B Raju associated.

While appealing for the success of this new experiment Swamiji was thinking of the poor people of the State. He wrote in his paper 'The Vision'—he emaciated and worn out skeletons of Telengana peasants stare us in the face. His blood has been sucked. Is the change going to end once for all his age-long

miseries? The commonman is expectant. It is he for whom the change is meant and it is he who will give the final verdict.

It is this concern of Swamiji for the peasant that was responsible for the appearance of a crack in the organisation. In fact with the prospect of power, there came division. A parallel Congress organisation was started, some say that it was encouraged by some one higher up. Whoever responsible, this was short lived. Swamiji was so intimately identified with the Congress and so deeply entrenched in the minds and estimation of the people it was not possible to dislocate him. The only change was that Sri D. G. Bindu became the President but Swamiji remained the dominant figure inside and outside the organisation. Nevertheless some difference in outlook or in emphasis continued with a section of the Congress even after the General Election of 1951 when a full fledged Congress Ministry was formed. Experience with the Communist movement in Telengana had convinced him—if that was necessary—that the salvation of the peasant was in the Land Reforms, and because of that he was against any Military or punitive action in that region and he advocated this even at the risk of being misunderstood. There were others who thought that he was going too far. It is due to his ceaseless efforts that Land Reforms of Hyderabad are the most progressive in the country. After the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the Andhras who consider themselves more advanced than the people of Telengana have not only not improved on it but on the contrary have checked in its implementation.

In 1953, there was the Session of the Indian National Congress at Nanal Nagar, Hyderabad and it was there as President of Hyderabad Congress and Chairman of the Reception Committee that he advocated the disintegration of the State and the formation of the Linguistic States. This advocacy was significant of him for it was well known that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's views were not in accord. He had very high regard for Panditji and was keen not to hurt him. But he had also the courage of his conviction. This increases our admiration for Swamiji especially when we find these days, even among the great a tendency to watch Panditji's smiles and avoid his frowns. I would not go into the merits of that matter, it is sufficient for me that he was true to his conscience and to himself. No man could do more.

I regret that Swamiji is withdrawing from all political activities. Perhaps political life is losing much of its ethical content. I am sure that his association with political workers will continue. Few, I have known who can be a better friend. Not jealous of you when you rise and do not desert you when you are down. And in the association with the Congress, that I have tried to sketch. I have always found him in the very centre of battle, and as a leader he always put himself in the position of greatest danger. And in the Razakar infested and terror stricken atmosphere of the Hyderabad State of the time it was no easy matter. He has not only physical courage but courage of the mind. Wherever he may go he carries with him the best wishes of his friends. On life's road there is always a beginning and no end. And his, he has well begun.

SWAMIJI AS A TEACHER

R. G. PARANJPE

WHEN Swami Ramananda Tirth stands before the people as an intrepid fighter for freedom who has dedicated his life to the service of his motherland his role as a teacher may occupy an insignificant part in his life. Yet it can safely be said that it was during this period when he worked as a teacher he was laying the foundation of a lofty career he was soon to enter upon.

I was working then at Hipparga as a teacher. Hipparga in Osmanabad district is a small hamlet which at that time attracted young men imbued with the spirit of service to join the national school run by Shri Vyankatrao Deshmukh and his younger brother Swamiji too joined the school as the Headmaster in June 1929. He joined the institution not out of helplessness but with a determined aim of shaping young minds that would willingly lay down their all for the liberation of the people.

Swamiji's educational background had fitted him well for the noble task. His student life is marked with incidents how the young mind rebelled against injustice ever willing to accept the penalty for a righteous cause. Life in the National College at Amalner brought him in close contact with the best devoted minds like Sri J. G. Gune and others whose life and work made a deep impress on Swamiji's mind. The innate righteous spirit was fanned to a flame.

The dormant spirituality rose uppermost with the urge to renounce everything for the cause of the nation.

His association with the labour leader Sri N. M. Joshi, a member of the Servants of India Society with whom he worked as Secretary helped Swamiji to build up contact with the slum-dwellers and their sorry plight. This sight of abject poverty hardened his determination to serve the lowly and the lost in society. While at Delhi Swamiji was overtaken with a strange illness which almost left him a cripple. He felt then that active service in the labour field was not suited to his health. On occasions like these there were moments in his life when he felt despair but he held his own with courage and meditation and faith in higher powers. In these circumstances he felt that his service would be fruitful if rendered in a national school. The whole nation was in ferment then. National awakening all over India had roused people to action. Swamiji too with that inborn urge for higher righteous life found teachers' profession a worthy channel for his nationalistic thought.

The school at Hipparga had the atmosphere of a national school. The teachers and taught lived in an atmosphere surcharged with intense patriotic feeling and were in an ecstatic mood of devotion and sacrifice for their motherland.



Swamiji Speaking at the Opening of the Hyderabad Khadi Gramodyog Bhandar, Sultan Bazar.



Swamiji with Yeshwanta Rao Chauhan and his Cabinet Colleagues at Aurangabad Air Port Construction



Swamiji with Chauhan at Constructive workers meetings, Nander

but it needed some one to canalize their energies in fruitful ways. Swamiji came to Hipparga and took over as the Headmaster.

The school lacked order and system of work. With Swamiji at the head, orderliness was soon restored. The school started functioning like a well regulated clock. I have found Swamiji very careful about small details. Punctual to the minute, he finds pleasure to see everything done on time. He dislikes slipshod work. He does every work however minor it may be with meticulous care. The school gained in him a good Headmaster but he was not content with dead routine. He believed that a teacher should be not only adept in his trade but should enthuse his pupils with some higher values in life. Swamiji taught English to the higher classes and taught it well. English is his special subject. He taught and wrote flawless English. He has cultivated a style of his own which is at once simple and forceful. It is a joy to read his writings with the epigrammatic periods that please the ears.

As a close associate of his, I could not but feel impressed by the Spartan life he led. Seasons were fierce at Hipparga. The climate was not bracing yet he braved all vagaries of climate, chose simple food and led almost a detached life, perhaps portending the life of an anchorite that he was soon to accept. This simple life left an indelible stamp in the minds of his students and colleagues.

He is born teacher and has all the qualities that go to make a good teacher. But he was not satisfied with mere classroom teaching. He acquainted the students with the current political thoughts and tried to inculcate in them how a fearless heart alone can acquire the democratic spirit so essential to build up healthy citizenship. He was a staunch nationalist and looked forward to the spiritual

regeneration of the youth. Swamiji, even before he had taken to the ochre robe, had great fascination for the works of Vivekananda and Ramteerth, the two saintly souls who brought about a Renaissance in the cultural and spiritual life of the nation. Swamiji like a faithful aspirant had drunk deep at the fountain-head of the treasured wisdom of these master-minds and tried to mould young minds with those lofty thoughts.

As the headmaster, he ruled with love and never with the rod. Once he used the rod but was so overwhelmed with sympathy in his mind for the poor victim that immediately after the punishment, he embraced the boy and wept sea of tears. Hereafter he devised a different weapon to bring round the erring soul. Whenever some one went wrong and was to be punished, he inflicted the punishment on himself which served as a salutary corrective to the wrongdoer. Swamiji lived nearly for six years at Hipparga. He was given appointment on Rs 50/= per month but he abhorred to do a salaried job, when he was alone with no one to depend on him. The whole of six years' salary was credited to the school fund. Sacrifice of this kind is rare in these days when all things are valued with money measure. I know small incidents of the kind related above which give us the germ of his future greatness.

After six years stay at Hipparga, he left the school and destiny dragged him to Ambajogai where with the help of his trusted colleagues he started the Yogeshwari Nutan Vidyalaya. He had to contend with the dark forces of feudal autocracy. This school also became a beehive of future workers who were drawn both from the students and the teachers.

The political storm was gathering apace and the whole of the country was in angry mood.

Swamiji felt restless. He thought of taking a plunge into the political arena. He asked me to be the guardian of the institution so jealously reared till now and left for Hyderabad to fight the peoples Battle, to seek for them their rightful place in the governance of the country.

A teachers job is not confined to the four walls of a classroom. The journalist who leads the people on their onward march to freedom, those that use pulpit and the platform to rouse the people from their lethargy and make them aware of their rights are in fact teachers in a wider sphere. Here too, Swamiji with a dauntless heart had led the people to regain their lost dignity, raised people from the mire of slavery and enabled them to breathe the air of freedom longed for, for years. Had not bigger issues loomed large on the political horizon then, Swamiji would have remained a

teacher, a sagelike teacher of old, devoted and righteous, in the true tradition of the great Guru.

Immediately after freedom was won, Swamiji took to education which alone, according to him, is the panacea of all the ills in society. To eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease, education is the only potent force. The cause of education which he holds so dear led him to the establishment of two colleges, one at Nanded, and another at Ambajogai. Private endeavour in education owes much to Swamiji. He is the guide and guardian of a good number of educational institutions in Marathwada. I feel, therefore, tempted to say that first and foremost he is a teacher, an educationist. He became a politician by compulsion but by choice has remained a true teacher, worthy preceptor to his pupils and a noble mentor to the public at large.



SWAMIJI AS AN EDUCATIONIST

DEVISINGH CHAUHAN

IN the nineteen-twenties Mahatma Gandhi was in control of the Indian political scene. The whole country was rocked to the bottom by the clarion call of Gandhi to the people to quit the services under the foreign Indian Government. He had also urged the lawyers to give up their legal practice, professors to give up their teaching and the students to set aside their books in the cause of the country. One young man, studying in a Poona College in response to the noble cause left the College and started a private school following the footsteps of Lokmanya Tilak, Agarkar and Anna Vyapurkar. It was a small village of one thousand populace Tuljapur Taluk in Osmanabad district. Hipparga had a school run actually under a thatched roof. It planned to coach students to the Bombay Secondary Education Board. I joined the school, in its 7th year in the year 1928. The unprecedented and unique struggle of the peasants of Bardoli under the able leadership of Sri Vallabhbhai Patel was in its last phase. The political scene was surcharged with feelings of patriotism and it charged the minds of the youth. Venkatesh Bhavanrao Khedgikar came to Hipparga accidentally to recoup his health for a week or so. He had just completed his post graduation by submitting a thesis on the subject of The Greek City States and Democracy and joined

labour movement as a private secretary to the late Sri N. M. Joshi. While on tour in Northern India with his leader Joshi, Khedgikar has an attack of paralysis. To get a suitable climate and complete rest Khedgikar came to Hipparga in the year 1929.

The organiser of the Hipparga school, one Shri Anantrao Kulkarni was a patriotic young man. He was also attracted to spiritualism. He was then giving discourses on Dhaneshwari and the late Swami his spiritual Guru of his own choice. Khedgikar came in contact with Sri Anantrao his lecture. He liked them. They developed intimacy. They decided that Venkatesh Rao Khedgikar should be initiated into Sanyasin in the cult of Swami Ram Tirtha. The latter's disciple—in—chief Sri Narayan Swami was specially invited for this purpose to Hipparga. In the year 1932 Venkatesh Bhavanrao Khedgikar was initiated into a Sanyasin and became Swami Ramanand Tirth.

Swamiji was a very good speaker. He was made the Headmaster of the first national school in a small village possibly in the whole of the former Hyderabad State. Under Swamiji's the first batch of students was sent for the Bombay Matriculation Examination in 1930. Under Swamiji's strict discipline and with his able guidance this uncommon national school prospered well. Students from many

towos in Marathwada Karnataka and also from Telengana joined the institution. Though the total strength did not exceed 250, it was an ideal school offering residential and hostel facilities. The atmosphere was surcharged with the feelings of patriotism and the attraction of spiritual glow was there. Swamiji was the moving spirit.

Due to serious differences Swamiji and almost all the major companions decided to leave the school. The Yogeshwari Nutan Vidyalaya was founded in Mominabad. All six or seven colleagues of Swamiji set to task vigorously at Mominabad. To facilitate the working at Hipparga Swamiji joined Mominabad after a year later. In two years they opened the Matriculation classes. Then the question of getting the permission for the high school cropped in. The then Hyderabad Government was following the policy of state-education. The Government had observed that private education had created difficulties for the British Government in the then Bombay Province. Lokmanya Tilak Agarkar and Annasaheb Bijapurkar had started such private schools and they had proved to be trouble spots for the foreign government. The premier Princely State in India had a Muslim ruler; they had imposed upon the Marathi Kanarese and Telugu population an unwanted language Urdu and the hierarchy of Government service was manned from the Muslim administrators; most of them brought from outside the State. There existed a great chasm between the Muslim dominated Hyderabad Government and the people in general. Every effort of education by the people of the State was looked upon with suspicion and it was discouraged. This policy was couched in further vigorous following the political upheavals in British India. The question of getting permission for

the Yogeshwari became difficult, rather in 1937 Sir Akbar Hydari supposed to be rather a liberal administrator was sufficiently briefed against the permission for the school. Swamiji had to make a special effort in the case. With an introductory letter from the Chief Minister of a native state Swamiji saw Sri Akbar Hydari in Bombay on the latter's way back from England. After half a dozen trips to Hyderabad the Yogeshwari Vidyalaya could be a high school. Very soon the Vidyalaya became an attraction all over Marathwada. There was hardly any town in the five districts which was not represented in the contribution of students to the school. The strength of the students swell to 600 in the High School classes.

In addition to the routine education organising lectures on the lives of great political leaders was a regular feature. Urge for political freedom of the country and the part to be played by the youth was whittled. The plastic minds of the students were surcharged with patriotism. The emancipation of the Hyderabad people from the feudal rule of the Nizam was an essential part of the teachings. Propagation and teaching of Marathi language which was neglected and barred from education and administration was also an important item.

The leaders of Hyderabad State decided to form the Hyderabad State Congress late in the year 1937. Some sort of regular work was planned. The Hyderabad Government and the Nizam were frightened. They imposed a ban on the Hyderabad State Congress even before it was born. Possibly this was the first instance on the part of any Princely State in India to ban a political body before its birth. The leaders decided to organise a political struggle. Satyagraha was contemplated. But an eminent personality from Hyderabad city came forward to head this banned political

association At long last, the late Govindrao Nanal, an old eminent pleader of Hyderabad, so far unknown in the political world, became the president of the banned Hyderabad State Congress Swamiji was appointed the first dictator of the Satyagraha He offered Satyagraha with four other colleagues in 1938 This led Swamiji into the vortex of political struggle upto Hyderabad's emancipation from the clutches of a feudal and communal native state in the year 1948

Getting respite in 1950 from the onerous burdens of political struggle, Swamiji again diverted his attention and energy for educational work He came to Mominabad and conferred with some of his colleagues It was decided to start a College People's College at Nanded was founded in the year 1951 This was the first College started by the public in the whole of Marathwada and also the Hyderabad State Even the big metropolitan city of Hyderabad had no private college so far Thus Swamiji laid the foundation of College education by the public

In the year 1956, Swamiji started another College at Mominabad-Ambajogai to extend education at his old Karmabhumi of 1935 His eminence in the political field in the State stood him in good stead to fetch handsome grants for his Colleges Both these Colleges are pioneer institutions in Marathwada Due to Swamiji's lead in this field there are today 6 privately managed Colleges in the Auranga

bad district, 4 in Osmanabad, 4 in Nanded and 2 in Bhir and one in Parbhani district These colleges have lent a content and a body to Marathwada University

Bred and brought up in a middle class family and tutored under a labour leadership Swamiji has along encouraged the poor and deserving students throughout his career in different institutions His presence has the sobering effect on the students to lead a life of simplicity, hard work and attachment to learning Though he could not achieve the ideal set before by the earliest pioneers of national education like the late Vyapurkar, the institutions guided by Swamiji have never fallen in the rut of the Govt institutions or private colleges in the big towns Character—building has, at least to a limited extent, been achieved This was amply demonstrated by the fact that a large number of teachers and students from the Yogeshwari Vidyalaya participated in the freedom struggles both in the years 1938 and 1947 The outlook in forming the character of the students had always remained national and patriotic Swamiji has remained a great force in the former state since 1930 He has remained a great leader of the freedom struggle in this part and has definitely created a niche in the history of the freedom movement Though today he is quite away from the political hubbub he has unfathomable faith in democracy and socialism His work in educational field specially in Marathwada would ever be remembered,

SWAMIJI : A LEADER OF THE MASSES

KONDA LAKSHMAN BAPUJI

SWAMI Ramananda Tirtha, occupies a pivotal place in the history of the Indian Freedom movement and his name will be written in letters of gold, in so far as the people's struggle in the former Hyderabad State is concerned. Right from the day when Swamiji took over the presidentship of the then Hyderabad State Congress, he made whirlwind tours of all the districts, met people in most of the villages, and in urban areas, and mobilised them, particularly the enlightened population to the cause of the Congress and the Indian Freedom movement. The clarion call to the people of the State was, however, made by Swamiji on August 7 1947, just a week before Indian Independence, on two immediate demands to be met by the Nizam's Government, i.e unconditional accession of Hyderabad State with the Indian Union, and secondly ushering in of a Responsible Government. The then Government as was expected, not only turned down the magnanimous offer of the State Congress under the esteemed leadership of Swamiji but declared the Congress as 'illegal' and arrested a number of top Congressmen. Though the Satyagrah was launched by the State Congress, but many non-Congressmen having been inspired by Swamiji's lead, also began mobilising the people to wage a bitter struggle against the autocratic government and the Razakars

in their own way. While the struggle of the Congress was essentially a non-violent one, but to certain enthusiastic workers, it came as a great challenge to meet the ever increasing atrocities of the Nizam's Government and the Razakars by counteracting the same through violent methods. In this regard, different groups of workers had chalked out their own plan of work to mobilise the people to defy the then Government and Razakars in all directions and extend them (the people) all help - money, men and material so as the people mustered courage to face the atrocities of the Government and the Razakars on one side and the immediate aim of the people's struggle for freedom could be accelerated on the other. Thus it was indeed possible for Swamiji to galvanise the people's enthusiasm for the struggle, and the spontaneous response his clarion call evoked made the authorities helpless and incapable of meeting the great upsurge of the people in the State. Thanks to the lawlessness, the brutalities perpetrated by the Razakars and the Nizam's Government, and the revolt of the people in the entire State, paralysed the administration so much so that the Police Action became inevitable.

As a result of the historic Police Action in September 1948, the people accorded a hero's welcome to Swamiji wherever he went and

soon the entire State was echoing with 'Congress Zindahad' and 'Swamiji Zindahad'. It must be admitted here that it was mainly due to this bold leadership of Swamiji, that Hyderabad State became a part and parcel of the Indian Union, defeating the machinations of the imperialistic stooges and communal forces in the State who were out to destroy the newly won freedom of the country.

Again in the formation of linguistic States, particularly the disintegration of former Hyderabad State, Swamiji had a big hand. He was the first leader who raised the slogan of 'Disintegrate the State and liquidate the princedom'.

The people of former Hyderabad State were indeed fortunate that they had found in Swamiji a captain who was dauntless in his courage, and who knew the real road to the destiny of our people. We are doubly fortunate

that he is in our midst today, giving us his advice and guidance in matters of constructive activities which have become rightly his main occupation these days.

Swamiji is a leader par excellence. He is the man of the masses. He speaks to the people in the language they understand. He is a man of firm beliefs, convictions and determination. Perhaps these qualities of his that endeared him to one and all.

On the occasion of the 61st birthday of Swami Ramananda Tirtha, the entire people of Andhra Pradesh salute him for his meritorious services in the cause of Indian Freedom movement and for removing one of the black spots on the map of Free India. May Almighty grant him many many years of useful service in the cause of humanity. May he continue to guide the destinies of our people.



SWAMIJI & MARATHWADA

A K WAGHMARE

SWAMI Ramananda Tirtha, ex-President of the erstwhile Hyderabad State Congress, is about to complete sixty years of his earthly life and enter the sixtyfirst very shortly. It is very natural for the people of the ex Hyderabad State to decide to celebrate this occasion and pay their respects to their liberator. One of the items in the programme of this celebration is to publish a collection of articles by his admirers, sympathisers and colleagues, depicting various aspects of his life. I have been asked to contribute an article for it. This is an humble attempt in that direction.

The subject on which I am desired to write is Swamiji and Marathwada. Without much thought I had agreed to comply with the above demand. But as I sit now at the table to write, I feel it a difficult job to depict a personality, confining to a very small and limited area, who in fact is supposed to be beyond the limits of time and space. However, as I must find out a way to get over the difficulty, I have a mind now to write a few words on the above subject in the sense as to what Swamiji did for Marathwada and what Marathwada expects from Swamiji in the wider context.

Swamiji was born in Karnatak but nourished and developed by Maharashtra. It was during the non-cooperation days that Swamiji gave up his regular course of studies. Later on he

worked as a private Secretary to the late famous labour and social leader Shri N. M. Joshi. Had things moved smoothly, I do not know where Swamiji might have been today. However that was not to be. While at Simla Swamiji had an attack of paralysis. Somehow he came out of it successfully, of course, with a crippled but manageable body.

After recovery when Swamiji was thinking about 'What next?', he was called upon to join a national school at Hipperga, a village in the Osmanabad district. It was there that he decided to take Sanyas. The germs may be there from the beginning yet it was the atmosphere at Hipperga which had given a practical shape to them.

The village of Hipperga, no doubt, provided a suitable atmosphere for the above yet it could not hold Swamiji for long. Swamiji shifted to Ambajogai, a taluka headquarter in Beed district of Maharashtra. To devote daytime to school work and then retire to a temple in a nearby mountainous valley was his daily routine there. But that course was not to continue for long. There came a call for him to come out and join the political field to which he responded very promptly. It was in the year 1937, that Swamiji attended the second conference of Marathwada Parishad held at Latur regularly and was elected its secretary.



Govind Rao Nanal along with Swamiji inaugurating the Khadi Bhandar at Aurangabad



Swamiji and Govinddas Shrof at a Public Meeting Aurangabad



Reception to Swamiji at Nagpur air Port on his release after the Standstill Agreement 1948

So swift was the course of political events in Hyderabad, that within a short period of about twelve years, the state people were liberated from the crushing rule of the Nizam. It was in the year 1948, that the State became a part of the Indian union after Police Action. And this ugly spot on the Indian map was completely wiped out in November 1956 by disintegrating its parts and joining them to their respective linguistic States surrounding it.

The real importance of this rapid and unthought of change can be only understood, when we take account of the background of the ex Hyderabad State. It was a state specially carved and developed as a fortress of the British Indian Empire, according to one of the British Residents in Hyderabad. When it is realised that its liquidation, which was done long after all other native states had fallen in line, presented innumerable hurdles necessitating a Police Action, the significance of this problem-state at once becomes clear. To do away with it within so short a time was not an easy task. Swamiji alone could achieve it. This was the unique service he has rendered to the Indian Nation. If Marathwada takes pride in having picked up, nourished and developed such an important personality, it is a legitimate pride.

If one looks to the frail figure of Swamiji, one is very likely to doubt the authenticity of the above statement. And yet it is an undoubted fact, that it was Swamiji under whom the struggle of the people of Hyderabad was fought successfully. How could, one may ask, such a frail person succeed in such a stupendous task? In my opinion he could succeed because he tried first to understand the problem fully and correctly. He realised that the strength of the Nizam and his Government was not their own. It was the, behind-the-scenes British power,

which made him look strong. As there were signs of the British power quitting India sooner or later, there would be no power to support the Nizam. In the then Hyderabad State, people's consciousness was at a very low ebb and could not foresee the likely reactions of the changes outside. It was because of this that a section of the intelligentsia in Hyderabad State did not support the struggle wholeheartedly in the beginning. The hesitation which the free India Government exhibited in taking action against Hyderabad at the outset, confirmed the above cold attitude. Naturally in the circumstances, no individual leadership could be built in Hyderabad. Joint leadership was the only way out. Swamiji realised this need and shaped such leadership. Of course the intense urge to solve the problems, was there. That was the call of the time. It is no wonder if a Sanyasi, who is supposed to have crossed the limits of time and space realises that at the earliest. He was quite confident that India, in her own interest, will have to help the struggle. And that was what has happened. In short, reading the trend of events early and correctly and acting boldly and with confidence, these were the secrets of Swamiji's success as a leader of Hyderabad.

Building up a joint leadership in Hyderabad was of great importance. Swamiji knew that the well-off intelligentsia were not likely to support him. Neither was his personality nor the conditions around were suitable for building up an individual leadership. Had he tried in that direction he would have certainly failed, as many have failed before. While the struggle was raging bitterly all round, the conservative sections in the Hyderabad Congress were practically idle. But the moment it became a near-certainty that a Police Action would come, these very sections suddenly became

very active. Because of their faith in and dependence on the All India leadership, the progressive leadership in Hyderabad could not take a serious and timely note of these phenomena. It is difficult to say today whether they would have succeeded in effectively counteracting reaction in Hyderabad had they realised and seriously taken note of it. But that was not to be. The moderates and reactionaries eventually succeeded in getting an upper hand in almost all affairs immediately after the Police Action. Thus the leadership so patiently and skilfully built up by Swamiji was broken, though some of its remnants remained for some years more. How could Swamiji's leadership be broken so soon when it was so near and dear to the Congress High Command till the end of the Nizam's rule? What was the exact reason which rendered Swamiji's leadership unwanted so soon after the struggle was over? Was it an attitude of opportunism on the part of the Congress High Command? If not what was the real cause of this change-over? Some people say that Swamiji's leadership was alright during the struggle but was not suited to the tasks of post-struggle administration. But then the same could be said of the All-India leadership too. As there can be no action without a reason there must be some other reason behind such a radical change in the attitude of the Congress High Command. What could it be? Let us look into it a little. As it had bearings on the then all India situation it becomes all the more necessary to take note of it.

When immediately after Police Action it was seen that the leadership of progressives in Hyderabad under Swamiji's leadership was fast becoming unpopular with the High Command and the moderate sections as well as reactionaries were getting the upper hand in the affairs

of the State, there were many who blamed Sardarji. But I am positively certain that whatever Sardarji did he was impelled to do so by certain compulsions inherent in the situation. The following words of Sri Pyarelalji are significant --

The Police did not openly defy Government's orders. But very often they let their deep personal bitterness get the better of their sense of duty and discipline. These were the agents through whom the administration had to be carried on. Sardar Patel was a much harassed man, very ill too. The machine of which he was in charge could be run only in a particular way. He had to rely on his officers. **THEY WERE HIS EYES AND EARS**

Indian progressive thought is still reluctant to recognise that the social aspect of man is invariably governed today by conditions around. And this is so because it fails to differentiate between a man as an individual and man as a part of the society. It would be unjust to blame Sardar for having acted in the manner he did under the conditions around him then. Any other person in similar conditions would only act in the same way.

It is a matter worth consideration why our leaders in power could not alter the very conditions which forced them to behave in a way which they would not ordinarily approve of. I most humbly submit that we as a nation have only half knowledge of modern social sciences as well as of our ancient Vedanta philosophy. This is no place to go into the details of the matter but at the same time we cannot allow it to pass untouched. I do not claim to be an authority on either Vedanta philosophy or modern sciences but as a student I may dare put some suggestions to be thought over here

We asked Britain to quit India peacefully and they did so. Did we think over then, as to what the British Government's exit would really mean? No. We considered ourselves to be capable of ruling the country without any preparation. What was the ultimate result? We have the following account of that :-

"Congress leaders lacked administrative experience. The only thing that stood between them and chaos was the administrative machinery set up by the British. They began to lean heavily upon the British-trained services, departmental heads and so on - and became their ardent admirers. Some of them even took to initiating their ways and became intolerant of any criticism of their officers by their erstwhile comrades-in-arms. A distance grew between them" (2)

In the conditions, is it difficult to know as to why Acharya Kripalani, the President of AICC and others had to resign and even quit Congress? What wonder if Swamiji in Hyderabad was a prey to that process? That apart, one wishes to know, if our Congress leaders have benefited by such a costly experience. They hardly seem to have done so. Happily enough Swamiji had not joined any opposition party and as such, will it be too much to expect of him to ponder over the matter coolly and see if things can be mended?

India's basic problems are mainly social and material. Indian Vedanta philosophers had no such problems as we have today to solve before them then. To impose claims on the Vedanta philosophy that it can offer solution to our present social problems, which were not there then, is most unjust. No proof is required to state that this erroneous belief is deeply rooted in our mass mind, that there is nothing which is not in Vedanta. If some proof of that

is necessary, I would suggest readers to go through the long interviews granted by our Prime Minister Panditji to the Editor 'Blitz' of Bombay, which are now available in book form under the title 'Mind of Mr Nehru' and get himself convinced that even today we entertain a false hope that our history and culture will help us to face the onslaught of western materialism. By the bye, if we reread the following words of Gandhiji, whom we hail as the Father of the Nation, we can understand the direction in which we are moving.

"It is my endeavour to resuscitate our ancient culture which is essentially rooted in N V & spiritual values. If we succeed, we shall become a beacon light to a world that is sick of strife and yearns for peace" (3)

Does it become a nation to talk of guiding the world when it has to beg and borrow for its daily necessities? In this context I would suggest to just calmly ponder over the following -

It is one of the pitfalls unavoidable in the case of a country which has newly achieved independence to glory in its greatness to feel and express a sense of national egoism, to give less consideration than is due to the claims of others. Nothing in my opinion is more dangerous to a young nation. I would venture to emphasise this point, for we are doubly prone to it. We often tend to equate what we believe to be our past glory as an assurance of our present position. Do not let us forget that our greatness is only potential and whether it becomes a reality depends on the way the challenge of the new life is faced by us" (4)

Is it too difficult to understand that we are misconceiving potentiality as reality? And this is so because we are erroneously mixing up spiritual practices with social. Whom can we

look to for guidance in this matter except a Sanyasi, who can view things correctly and guide others?

I pray for long healthy life to Swamiji on this occasion and hope that he will do his best to correct the national misconceptions and show the correct path. I can assure Swamiji that Marathwada will be in the vanguard as

before in any of his future attempts in restoring the lost national balance

1 Gandhi -

Last Phase vol II P 671 By Pyarelal

2 -do vol II P 643 by ,

3 do vol II P 234 ,

4 The State & the Citizen Panniker K M P 36



THE CALL OF THE MILLIONS!

V D DESHPANDE

INDIA is changing fast, and what was the living present yesterday, is becoming the distant past today.

Not only physically but mentally too, we are changing, and hence a glimpse of the past may not be so fascinating as the vista of the present that is before us

What was once princely Hyderabad—the prison for the people, is now 'no more' and the link of the past is shattered and the vision is hazy. But still the present is built on the past, and many a time history repeats though on a spiral

It is this past which can tell us the inspiring freedom struggle which was led for more than a decade by Swami Ramananda Tirtha. A constructive worker by nature, the call of the teeming millions in the former Hyderabad State made him plunge in active politics, and despite the torture chambers of the princely autocracy, the machinations of the henchmen of Nizam, and vagaries of the time and tide, Swamiji never deflected from the freedom path which he had chartered for himself

It was in the late forties that he first took to active politics. First as General Secretary of the Maharashtra Parishad later as the first dictator of the Satyagraha movement. For years he was the sole crusader as individual Satyagraha in the long and lonely years of

Second World War. The Second wave of the freedom struggle in former Hyderabad saw him as its torch-bearer, leading the way, and the bastion of Nizam's rule was destroyed once for all. The advent of Congress Ministry in Hyderabad gave challenge to his mettle and many may envy the 'ups' he had, and the 'downs' he bravely faced. The third and the last wave of the people's movement saw the emergence of Vishal Andhra, Samyukta Maharashtra and Aikya Karnataka

And now we are out to defend our country and pave way for a Socialist Bharat!

History may have its own assessment, and one may differ in his evaluation. But one cannot but feel inspired by Swamiji's indomitable courage, supreme sacrifice and above all deep humanism

Very often I feel what is it that makes great men sacrifice everything and lay down their lives for a cause. What after all is the cause?

History throws its men and every social order has its leaders. But what is it after all which inspired a Gandhi or Lenin to sacrifice his all. It is the call from the hearts of the teeming millions—the call of down-trodden—the call of deep humanism. In this thermoneuclear age, it is this call which is paving the way to ending the cold war, and abolish the hot war for ever!

If anything Swamiji is the embodiment of this deep humanism in his own way. It is such embodiments which give us hope for the future and for a glorious world of peace, socialism and universal brotherhood.

Swamiji has come back to constructive work. Whether active politics would make a demand on him again, is anybody's guess. But wherever he may be his heart would be with the teeming millions and his deep humanism would inspire us all!



UNDER MAHATMA'S GUIDANCE

ACHYUTBHAI DESHPANDE

SWAMI Ramananda Tirth, who had left a Government school, in his younger days in the Non-cooperation movement, graduated himself from the Tilak (Maharashtra) National University, became a labour worker and later turned an ascetic of Swami Ram Tirth order, could not have looked for guidance in politics in anybody except Gandhiji. He followed him and maintained that status of his follower even under the stress of difficult situations. There was no doubt that for both of them politics was a means to achieve spiritual ends . .

Like the magnetic island which attracts inwards to it all ships that have even a small quantity of iron in them Gandhiji drew to himself most of the people in this country who were imbued with some feeling of sacrifice for the selfless cause of freeing this country from bondage.

We have documentary evidence from Gandhiji himself of the extent to which Swamiji possessed these virtues. The letter, in which this reference has been made may be safe in the collection of Gandhiji's letters or might have missed its place and been lost; but many of the freedom fighters of Hyderabad know that what it contained.

The relationship of Gandhiji with Swamiji was more or less his relationship with the

Satyagraha movement of Hyderabad. It is a well known fact that in reality in earlier stages of the movement it was Gandhiji who led the movement of the Hyderabad State Congress. Swamiji was an instrument in his hands to work out his will. It was Swamiji who carried the work of keeping unity among the fighters for freedom holding divergent views until the shackles of bondage were broken. Among the many virtues that enabled him to carry on this onerous duty, was also this important privilege that he had the guidance, shelter and support of Gandhiji in what he did, to further the cause dearest to his heart. To the best of his ability he is trying to live up to the ideals of Gandhiji even today and thus it can be said that the relationship continues in this day.

The year 1938 was coming to an end. All the political prisoners of Hyderabad State Congress were released. It was the wish of Gandhiji that the State Congress movement should be free from communal religious bias. The majority in the State Congress too was of the same view. And so the State Congress proposing to suspend the movement elected a Chairman a Secretary and a working committee to carry out the subsequent programme. But the question was about the leadership of the whole people of Hyderabad. That was still in the

making. The mood of the people was such that they could not be made conscious of this subtle difference and pure vision. Should the movement be suspended? If so, why? Only because, the Aryasamaj and Hindu Mahasabha were carrying on their own agitation? Who will bring home to the people the propriety of calling off the movement? Swamiji, the Secretary, and his comrades approached Gandhiji and expressed their desire to use his name for the purpose, they would tell people that the Satyagraha was called off at the instance of Gandhiji. He assented and the name worked like magic. For Gandhiji was the accredited leader of India and of Hyderabad too. It was at this crucial moment that Swamiji decided once for all to always seek Gandhiji's guidance in the political field.

But the real test for him was to come in 1940. Individual Satyagraha was about to begin throughout India. Stringent conditions were put by Gandhiji for the participants and on that basis Satyagrahis were to be screened everywhere. But for those from Hyderabad he put a severe test. He told them that if they were sincerely prepared to follow the conditions imposed on them they might participate in the Satyagraha in Hyderabad, if not they should keep away humbly and render some other service to the people. It set them all a-thinking. Many of them admitted that they could not fulfil the condition laid for they had their own views and while remaining faithful to them it was impossible for them to fulfil these conditions.

These two - three days of discussions proved trying for Swamiji. His Vedanta philosophy would bring him nearer to Gandhiji; his ideology was attracting him to the hard conditions imposed by Gandhiji; while his experience of Hyderabad political life, inertia of the state's

people and the whole atmosphere there was compelling him not to consent to Gandhiji's trying conditions. For three days his mind had been in agitation, on the last day he fasted and took the decision in the prayerful mood that in this matter he would surrender himself to Gandhiji.

He was released in 1942 and immediately saw Gandhiji. He found that the confidence reposed by him in Swamiji was well kept. During the movement that followed the same year he followed till the end of that movement in the footsteps of Gandhiji.

In 1946, the All-India States People's Conference came into being under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Swamiji wielded quite a good influence in it. Still he knew that it was Gandhiji alone, rather than the conference who could hold together people of divergent views in the political life of Hyderabad.

The comrades of Swamiji kept Gandhiji apprised of events that took place in the last phase of Hyderabad's struggle for emancipation. In those days Gandhiji was in a state of severe agony on the overall situation prevailing in the country. He then offered his sincere prayers to his only refuge Lord God and laid down his life in this supreme effort of prayer. Swamiji too has bathed in the showers of that prayer, and it is no exaggeration to say that this Sanyasin of the order of Swami Ram Tirth has always been full of equal love for the Hindus as well as Muslims nay for all human beings, irrespective of their castes and creeds.

After the passing away of Gandhiji when the great leaders of India were unable to keep together the various national and revolutionary forces, in the country how could Swamiji be expected to do it in his state? Still it can be held that even today the relationship that



Swamiiji receiving Sheik Mohamed Abdullah at Hyderabad in 1948



Swamiiji with V P Menon and Officials of the State's Ministry

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existed between Gandhiji and Swamiji remains intact in the constructive and social fields, and that he is walking in the footsteps of the master. He said the other day to one of his comrades "Ahimsa" is an infallible weapon and it achieves a lasting victory. But he added, "we have to see how much perfect or imperfect are we, the instruments of Ahimsa, and have to decide the scope and nature of our work accordingly." He feels this line of thought is based on the Gandhian ideology. As a follower of Gandhiji Swamiji participated in the revolutionary movement of Bhoodan and with an open mind engages himself in Khadi and other constructive work. For the constructive work in the old Hyderabad State (though it has been merged into three different states today) if one has to think on an all India basis, Swamiji is indispensable today.

* * *

This picture about Swamiji will remain incomplete without citing an instance of the inner intimacy that existed between Gandhiji and Swamiji. It was the beginning of 1947. The Congress had turned out the Communists from the organisation by a disciplinary action against them. They had to quit from the States' People's Conference too. Prior to this Swamiji had seen Gandhiji and consulted him. Gandhiji was of the opinion that no disciplinary action should be taken against the Communists and that if the people so wanted they would keep

the communists away from the Congress, if not, there was no harm if they remained. The details of the interview were recorded and typed, a copy was handed over to Swamiji and another was left with Gandhiji. The Communists somehow managed to get access to the copy and published in one of their publications, and carried the propaganda against the National leaders that Congress Working Committee had acted against the views of Gandhiji. This caused a furore. It could not be said that the details of the interview were obtained from Gandhiji's place, though it was not an impossibility and the natural inference was that their source was Swamiji, irrespective of whether it was stolen from his place or handed over by him to the Communists. But the damage was done. This immensely pained Swamiji. Swamiji believed that the matter had not leaked out from his place. But how could he assert this emphatically? For anything was possible in such cases. And the possibility of leakage, was greater from his end than from Gandhiji's. Swamiji was in turmoil and wrote to Gandhiji on the point. The reply he received depicted the intense love that can only be equalled by that of the mother for her child. Swamiji felt gratified to get such a letter, not because he was exonerated from the charge but because so much affection was showered on him by a man as great as Gandhiji. Let us pray that the torch of that love will guide Swamiji in the years that are before him.





Swamiji and the Members of the Action Committee with
S K Patil and N V Gadgil at Bombay



Swamiji at the reception by the Andhra Association at Delhi

a view to obtain their consent. It was a crucial meeting. Panditji had full faith in and reverence for Swamiji for his having given an impetus to the freedom movement in Hyderabad and for having led it to a success. The meeting would have administered a severe blow to that confidence and reverence if it would not have brought about its complete loss. Being true to his ideals and having never cared for his personal prestige Swamiji made it abundantly clear to Panditji that he disagreed with him and that he would oppose any resolution, to that effect. During his stay at Delhi Swamiji never missed the sittings of the Lok Sabha. He spent rest

of the time in reading and thinking. Occasionally, during vacation, we used to visit nearby places of historical interest and new industrial colonies. Sometimes he used to call upon some of the members of the Central Cabinet, chiefly among them being . Sri Lal Bahadur Shastriji and Sri C. D. Deshmukh. Some of the young M.Ps residing in the North Avenue were fascinated by the personality of Swamiji. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, the present Minister for Agriculture, was one of them. In those days, he had been a source of inspiration to many. He can be so even today to those who seek it.



SWAMIJI IN THE LOK SABHA

R S DIWAN

THE first General Elections were just over according to the new Constitution made by India on attaining her freedom. A majority of members of the Parliament elected from the various States were eagerly awaiting the 13th May 1952, for on that day the very first Session of the Parliament was to commence after the swearing-in-ceremony of its new members.

At about noon-hour on that day a frail individual though far from being attractive in appearance was seen approaching the Speaker's seat to take an oath of allegiance to the Nation. The formality of the occasion was being felt keenly as he who had spent his whole life in the service of the Nation was taking an oath of allegiance to it! That individual was none else than Swami Ramaoanda Tirth. His saffron robes roused some curiosity, some wonder and some eagerness in the minds of the members present. All these feelings just subsided when they heard Swami's speech on foreign policy and it inspired reverence in the minds of all.

Swamiji mostly spoke in English. His speech was marked by a smooth flow and yet it had the desired effect. He participated invariably in the Debates on the Foreign Policy of India. He never hesitated to show the discrepancies in the doings of the Government even as he supported its policy of non-alignment. His

boldness in this matter could be seen in connection with what happened in Hungary. During that period of five years he strove continuously within and outside the Lok Sabha to seek and fructify the development of the Hyderabad State in general and of Marathwada in particular. His efforts resulted in Marathwada getting a central grant of 26 to 27 crores as against 2½ to 3 crores under the First Five Year Plan.

The last two years or so in 1955-56 were marked considerably by his speeches on the reorganisation of states on linguistic basis. His original militant spirit again manifested itself for it was battling against the mighty. It was from the platform of the Hyderabad session of the Indian National Congress that in his welcome address Swamiji had sponsored the trifurcation of the Hyderabad State and it was from the same platform that in his presidential address, Pandit Nehru had warned that all possible talks of the disintegration of the State would be put down with the help of the armed forces. It was in this context that Swami's fearless approach to the linguistic reorganisation of States was remarkable.

Linguistic reorganisation of States in India did at last materialise with the only exception of Maharashtra and Gujrat. In 1956 Pandit Nehru invited the members of the Parliament from Maharashtra and Gujrat separately with

Disinterested service to humanity is the mission of his life. From his boyhood he had a great inclination to serve the people and his country. After completing his education he joined Shri N. M. Joshi as his secretary and helped him in organising Bombay Textile Labour Union. He attended the Legislative Assembly and worked with him in drafting Indian Trade Union Act. In 1927, he helped Shri N. M. Joshi in organising Trade Union Congress. Then he took up the charge of the general strike at Textile Labour at Sholapur. He was prosecuted and convicted.

Ascetic tendencies were to be seen in Swamiji from the beginning of his student life. He came in close contact with Swami Knivalyanand who was the Principal of National College. His deep spiritualism helped him in developing a character of his own. As a Head Master of a National School at Hipparga in Osmanabad, Swamiji worked without any remuneration. Self-denying ordinance requires complete renunciation of worldly possessions. The little food for his sustenance, the ascetic would beg of the society he undertook to serve. With this noble principle in view Swamiji as a teacher lived on Bhiksha i.e. begging of food. Indian idealism based on service to humanity is typical in human history. A man who completely gives up his self-interest is a true sanyasi. Swamiji was a true sanyasi before he took sanyasa. A formal initiation was made by his Holiness Narayan Swami, the chief disciple of Swami Ram Tirth in 1931.

Swami Ramanand Tirth is a staunch Congressman and a nationalist of first rank. He believes in the Gandhian philosophy of love for all and hatred for none even in political life. His political career begins from 1938 when he accepted the Secretaryship of Maharashtra Conference after the Latur Session.

He was the moving spirit behind the State Congress. The State Congress was banned before it came into existence in August, 1938. The ban was defied and Sri Govind Rao Nanal and others were arrested. Swamiji was the second dictator and was arrested when he offered satyagraha. In 1939, he was elected as the General Secretary of the State Congress at Manmad. Since then he was at the helm of this organisation. In 1940, he offered individual satyagraha with the permission of Mahatma Gandhi and was released after 15 months.

The late Sri Govind Rao Nanal, on account of his illness appointed him as the President of the organisation at Sholapur on 12th August, 1942. It was Swamiji who kept the flag of the State Congress flying during its illegal existence for eight years. Swamiji played a worthy part in the August Revolution of 1942 and was detained for 16 months. The Standing Committee of the All India States People's Conference passed a resolution nominating him as the President of the State Congress on 11th June, 1946. The ban on State Congress was lifted on 3rd July, 1946. On the 16th August, 1946, he was elected as the President by the Standing Council. He commanded a great respect of all the progressive groups in the political field. He had a good following. A band of selfless workers were at his disposal. Swami Ramanand Tirth was re-elected as the President of the first Open Session of the State Congress held in June, 1947.

Indian spiritualism has got a unique power of blending together secular and non-secular activities in times of national emergency. Many ascetics of the past took active part in the world of politics and guided the statesman in the affairs of the State. Ancient literature of India is full of references showing the influence of the political wisdom of the ascetics.

LIFE AND POLITICAL WORK OF SWAMI RAMANAND TIRTH

KRISHNACHARYA JOSHI

LIFE of Swami Ramanand Tirth is a life of service and sacrifice and his political work is a great contribution to the freedom struggle in India. His unshakable faith in democracy, his great love for Gandhian Philosophy, above all his spirit of service to humanity contributed to the success of his life mission. A tall middle aged man simple but imposing dressed in saffron coloured Khadi Kaffani began in 1947 to mould the destiny of seventeen million people of Hyderabad State. It was Swami who came forward and bravely led the people through darkness and despondency. Hyderabad was a great stronghold of bitter communalism and mediaeval feudalism. The bulk of the population was groaning under the heels of feudal bureaucracy. To liberate the masses from such a political slavery, Swami Ramanand Tirth gave the clarion call. We will not submit to an autocratic rule. We will break but not bend. We refuse to be slaves.

At a very critical moment in the history of the Indian people the responsibility of leading a freedom struggle of an all India character fell on Swami. He had to rally all the democratic forces to assert the will of the people. He had innumerable difficulties in his way. But despite all difficulties he rapidly mobilised the masses and conducted freedom struggle successfully. Police Action was the culmination

of people's movement in Hyderabad. Even after the Police Action Swami continued his fight for the formation of linguistic States. He has made a valuable contribution for the formation of Andhra Pradesh with Hyderabad as the capital. Swami Ramanand Tirth's name will go down in history of Hyderabad and the posterity will remember him as the liberator of the masses from the feudal and autocratic rule. His life is inspiring as a national leader who has dedicated his whole life for the service of humanity.

Swami Ramanand Tirth was born on 3rd October, 1903 at Chinmali Jagir in Gulberga District of new Mysore State. He was named as Veokat Rao by his parents. But nobody in those days dreamt that he would be renamed as Swami Ramanand and would lead the people's movement in Hyderabad. He began his educational career in a private school at Gangapur village. He completed his primary education at Kalyani and High School education at Sholapur. He left the school in non-co operation movement in 1921 and joined the National College Amalner. Swami took his B.A. degree from Tilak Vidyapeeth and stood first in the University. With politics as his optional subject, he passed his M.A. Examination by writing a thesis on evolution of democracy.

Disinterested service to humanity is the mission of his life. From his boyhood he had a great inclination to serve the people and his country. After completing his education he joined Shri N. M. Joshi as his secretary and helped him in organising Bombay Textile Labour Union. He attended the Legislative Assembly and worked with him in drafting Indian Trade Union Act. In 1927, he helped Shri N. M. Joshi in organising Trade Union Congress. Then he took up the charge of the general strike at Textile Labour at Sholapur. He was prosecuted and convicted.

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Indian spiritualism has got a unique power of blending together secular and non secular activities in times of national emergency. Many ascetics of the past took active part in the world of politics and guided the statesman in the affairs of the State. Ancient literature of India is full of references showing the influence of the political wisdom of the ascetics.

He was arrested and detained when he entered the State again on 26th January, 1948

Before his arrest in a public speech at Madras on 13th December he very correctly gave the picture of the future of Hyderabad

Swamy Ramanand Tirth addressing a meeting in Madras held under the auspices of the Indian Students Congress said We want accession here and now We will fight not till that full accession comes One Pakistan he said, had brought unimaginable massacre Another Pakistan in the heart of India could not be allowed to grow With emotion in his voice he said, I want to submit in this first public meeting after my release that the atrocities perpetrated on the people of Hyderabad, are so immense and so great that the present regime cannot justify its existence any longer I assure you brothers that it is not Ramanand Tirth or his colleagues who are fighting the autocratic regime but the peasant and the common man who had risen in revolt In fact it is the 22 500 villages in the State that carry on the struggle

Later at a Press Conference in Madras he expressed his dissatisfaction over the Standstill Agreement and warned the Government of India not to supply arms to Hyderabad Government as per the agreement

At a Press Conference he declared that the Standstill Agreement between the Nizam and the Government of India was not binding on the people of Hyderabad There is no rule of law and the danger of a Fascist State in the heart of India continues to exist He said It would be suicidal to undervalue the situation He added that the supply of arms and ammunition to Hyderabad by the Government of India was an extremely serious proposition 'Every bullet that may be supplied' he sternly said, 'will be a bullet to crush the people and

their democratic struggle The Government of India should investigate into the whole situation before it takes any step in that direction And this was a warning a grave warning, the import of which should not be missed

Then he went to Delhi and met Mahatma Gandhi Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhai Patel Minister for States, Mr V P Menon, Secretary States Ministry, Dr B R Ambedkar, Minister for Law and Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Vice-President of the All India States People's Conference

Swami Ramanand Tirth President of the Hyderabad State Congress at a press conference in Delhi reiterated the State Congress demands for full Responsible Government acknowledgement of the right of the people of the State to decide the question of accession to India and setting up a Constituent Assembly in the State, based on adult franchise to frame Hyderabad's future constitution The Standstill Agreement does not solve the problem of Hyderabad though it has forced the Nizam to suspend his sovereignty in regard to the three subjects namely, Defence External Affairs and Communication for the one year The question of accession remains unsolved The people of Hyderabad are free to go to their own way and force sanctions to see that Hyderabad enters the Indian Union The people of Hyderabad are facing heavy odds bravely The struggle for freedom will take long and rapid strides in months to come We are sure to win

'Non-Co operation with the Government machinery in every manner possible should form our programme', said Swami Ramanand Tirth, President of the Hyderabad State Congress, in a statement outlining the imme-



Swamiji and Vasudev Naik with Panditji at Hanuman Vyayam Shala



Swamiji introducing L N Gupta one of the trustees of Hanuman Vyayam Shala to the Prime Minister

With their political sagacity and temporal impartiality they gave a correct lead to the people. Greek writers have described the great revolts organised by Sanyasis against Alexander. Alexander with his usual ferocity had several of them executed. When asked why he urged the leader of a particular state to oppose Alexander, the ascetic replied 'because he wished him to live with honour and die with honour'. To another question he replied "should Alexander cut off my head he cannot also destroy my soul. Let Alexander then terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and who dread the death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless since we neither love gold nor fear death" (McCrindle's Megasthenes). A close observation of Swami Ramanand Tirth's political life since 1938 reveals that he has rightly inherited the great qualities possessed by the Indian ascetics of the past.

Swami dedicated his life to the cause of democracy in Hyderabad and challenged the government whenever the cause was threatened, against the sovereign will of the people. The Nizam on the eve of British withdrawal from India declared that he would be entitled to become independent from 15th August, 1947. Swami took up the challenge in the first plenary Session of the State Congress. A resolve was made to resist any attempt at the imposition of an autocratic regime isolated from the rest of India. Two demands were put forward, viz., Hyderabad should accede to the Indian Dominion and Responsible Government should be established forthwith. For the realisation of these demands Swami started the present historic freedom movement in Hyderabad, by asking the people to observe the 7th August, 1947, as 'Join Indian Union

Day" and 15th August, 1947 as "Indian Independence Day". The Government of Hyderabad issued an ordinance prohibiting the people of Hyderabad from hoisting the Indian National Flag ceremoniously.

Swami took up the challenge and asked the people to defy the ordinance which was against the national honour of the people who took India as their country and the Indian National Flag as their own. This shook the foundation of the government of Hyderabad. Mass arrests of Congressmen were ordered by the government to prevent the defiance of the ordinance. Just after the dawn of independence in the early hours of 15th August, '47, Swami was arrested with his two colleagues, Dr G S Melkote and Sri Krishnacharya Joshi and were detained until the Standstill Agreement was signed*. The battle for freedom from feudal and autocratic rule began. The masses were moved. There was great upheaval throughout the state. Government intensified its repression. The people courageously faced the situation, and the freedom struggle launched by Swami continued unabated.

When the movement was in full swing a Standstill Agreement was signed on 29th November, 1947 between Government of India and Hyderabad Government. Swami was released on the next day with other members of the Working Committee and some prominent leaders of the State Congress. He reviewed the political situation and found that there was no change of heart on the part of the Government. He flew to Madras with some of his colleagues to review the situation and acquaint the leaders there with the political struggle in Hyderabad. Sri T. Prakasam and Sri Kamraj welcomed the Swami and pledged their support to the freedom movement in Hyderabad. He

*At the Altar of Freedom Pamphlet issued by State Congress.

went to Mysore and got the support of Sri K C Reddy and Sri S Nijalingappa, Sri T Siddalingaiah and others. He went to Bombay and Nagpur and got support of Sri R K Patil, Sri S K Patil and Sri P Misra. He went to Delhi and reported the progress of the struggle in Hyderabad to Mahatma Gandhi and other all India leaders. Gandhi expressed his satisfaction on the progress of the movement. The Council of Action under the chairmanship of Sri D G Bindu, met at Bombay and reviewed the situation and sought the advice of Swamiji for conducting the movement. There was spontaneous support of the people in the surrounding provinces for the freedom struggle in Hyderabad. Swamiji was fully satisfied with the freedom struggle which was gaining momentum in the State.

Swamiji made an appeal to the good sense of the Nizam in a letter, dated 21st January, 1948. 'I am addressing this letter to Your Exalted Highness', said Swamiji in the spirit of a well-wisher of the State and a friend of Your Exalted Highness and your dynasty. I would request your Exalted Highness to make a declaration recognising the right of the people to shape their own destiny by the announcement of Responsible Government organically integrated with the structure of democratic India that was the only way in which the State can survive. No attention paid to this and the situation remained unchanged.

With intense faith in the success of his cause Swamiji appealed to the Muslims of Ittehad party of Hyderabad. The talk of the rulers and the ruled', said Swamiji should be discontinued in the interests of the State as a whole. No people would like to be slaves in these days of democracy and freedom. More over the present oligarchy in Hyderabad

was not in any way beneficial to the Muslim masses as they were in a miserable condition. Responsible Government would bring happiness and prosperity to the people. If people in Kashmir could enjoy the fruits of responsible government there was no reason why people of Hyderabad should be deprived of the same rights. He requested the Muslims to consider the question not with communal but peoples' point of view.

Swamiji also appealed to the Indian people and leaders that they should take the cause of Hyderabad as their own. He impressed upon them that Indian Independence would remain incomplete until the people of Hyderabad become free. Swamiji visualised that Hyderabad problem might be made an international problem and many complications would arise. So before his arrest he warned the Indian people that the last battle for Indian freedom would be fought on Hyderabad soil and they should be prepared for it. He also appealed to the conscience of the Indian nation to take up Hyderabad cause without any delay.

Under the wise guidance of Swami Ramana and Tirth, State Congress gave a magnificent account as an organisation of the people, during a short period of its one year's existence. It stood for democratic principles and was bound to be successful. The freedom struggle had the full support of the people of the State. When Swamiji gave a call people rallied round him. Students, Kisans, Pleaders, Patel and Patwars, in short the people in general defied the government and staked their all. The result was that the administration in many parts of the State was paralysed. The people actually had disowned the Government. Swamiji did the same thing in Hyderabad what Sheikh Abdullah had done in Kashmir. So he was a nightmare to the Government of Hyderabad.

He was arrested and detained when he entered the State again on 26th January, 1948

Before his arrest in a public speech at Madras on 13th December he very correctly gave the picture of the future of Hyderabad

Swamy Ramanand Tirth addressing a meeting in Madras held under the auspices of the Indian Students' Congress said 'We want accession here and now. We will fight out till that full accession comes'. One Pakistan, he said, had brought unimaginable massacre. Another Pakistan in the heart of India could not be allowed to grow. With emotion in his voice he said, 'I want to submit in this first public meeting after my release that the atrocities perpetrated on the people of Hyderabad, are so immense and so great that the present regime cannot justify its existence any longer. I assure you, brothers, that it is not Ramanand Tirth or his colleagues who are fighting the autocratic regime, but the peasant and the common man who had risen in revolt. In fact it is the 22,500 villages in the State that carry on the struggle.'

their democratic struggle. The Government of India should investigate into the whole situation before it takes any step in that direction". And this was a warning, a grave warning, the import of which should not be missed.

Then he went to Delhi and met Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Minister for States, Mr V P Menon, Secretary, States Ministry, Dr B R Ambedkar, Minister for Law and Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Vice-President of the All India States People's Conference.

Swami Ramanand Tirth, President of the Hyderabad State Congress, at a press conference in Delhi reiterated the State Congress demands for full Responsible Government, acknowledgement of the right of the people of the State to decide the question of accession to India and setting up of a Constituent Assembly in the State, based on adult franchise to frame Hyderabad's future constitution. The Standstill Agreement does not solve the problem of Hyderabad.



Swami and Vasudev Naik with Panditji at Hanuman Vyayam Shala



Swami introducing L. N. Gupta one of the trustees of Hanuman Vyayam Shala to the Prime Minister.



Swamiji with Shankar Rao Deo at the Hanuman Vyayam Shala



Swamiji and Shankar Rao Deo and others at the Hanuman Vyayam Shala

date and long term programme of the Congress for achieving the two-fold objective of full Responsible Government in the State and its accession to the Indian Union.

The Statement was prepared by Swami Ramanand before his arrest on 26th January, 1948 and was released by the State Congress office

The statement further states 'Students have already boycotted institutions. They should intensify it and such of them who have the will should offer Satyagraha. Pledgers can also line up with the forces of freedom by refraining from attending courts. Village officials should resign in large numbers. The distribution of proscribed literature can form one of the items of Satyagraha once again'.

Referring to the letter he had addressed to the Nizam, Swami Ramanand says that he explained "that if he (the Nizam) allows the present state of affairs to continue any longer it will have disastrous consequences on the future of the State. As a well-wisher of the State, I have written to him that Hyderabad's entity can be maintained only as an integral part of the Indian Union and the Ruler and the dynasty can last only through the establishment of Responsible Government. I considered it necessary to convey to him these feelings before I offered Satyagraha. The Government must make way for full Responsible Government under the aegis of the Ruler. Any delay in this direction would be disastrous. Shall I hope, even at this late hour that statesmanship and farsightedness will influence the policies of the Ruler and right decisions taken

Proceeding, Swami Ramanand said, As in the past so in the future also, the struggle will be continued in a non-violent manner. I know lives and properties are insecure and people

have the inherent right to defend themselves at all costs. It is for the Government to refrain from using violence. I tried to control passions running high, but there is a limit to everything. I would even then expect people not to act through provocation but be firm and steadfast and carry on the movement to the best of their capacity. Our path is clear. Let us be calm and disciplined in all that we do. May be, a state may come when no guidance from above would be possible. Each one should act according to his own light within the four corners of the programme given by the Committee of Action."

One is reminded of the Programme given by Mahatma Gandhi on 8th August, 1942 to carry on the 'Quit India' Movement when one reads the programme given by Swamiji before his arrest on 26th January, 1948. In the absence of Swamiji, the Committee of Action courageously shouldered the responsibility and ably conducted the struggle in the light of the broad principles laid down by him.

Various statements issued by Swami Ramanand Tirth before his arrest show that he is a politician of the first rank, who has a great political vision. Many of his public utterances before and after the dawn of independence, have come to be true. Hyderabad, he said, 'was an integral part of India and it could not remain separate from the Indian Union'. Further, he said, formation of the Nizam's State in the past was a historic accident. It consisted of 90 lakhs of people speaking Andhra 50 lakhs speaking Marathi and 30 lakhs speaking Kannada. They belonged to the respective areas of the Indian Union and their language and culture were the same. One day or the other Hyderabad would be disintegrated and the three parts of Andhra,

Maharashtra and Karnatak would merge in the surrounding areas

He visualised that Nizam would never agree for accession of the State to the Indian Union and he could create innumerable difficulties to the Indian Union. Again he said, 'Hyderabad problem will become an international problem and it will be difficult for the Government of India to tackle it easily. He has not fully satisfied with the Standstill Agreement and requested that the Government of India should act firmly and quickly before it was too late. He also hinted to the people of the Indian Union that a serious situation in Hyderabad would arise and asked them to take Hyderabad problem as their own. And thus he appealed to the Indian people to help the Freedom Struggle launched by State Congress for the accession of Hyderabad to the Indian Union.

After the incarceration of Swami Ramanand Tirth there were great political developments. Sri K. M. Munshi's role as the Agent-General in Hyderabad, his efforts to persuade the Nizam to accede to Indian Union, the breach of the Standstill Agreement, the atrocities of the Razakars, the violation of the Indian territory by the Razakars, the advice to Nizam by Lord Mount Batten and other well wishers, the great political upsurge in Hyderabad, Nizam's appeal to the United Kingdom and the United Nations, Hyderabad on war path and lastly the establishment of law and order by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in Hyderabad, other events have formed a part of the 5th Volume of the Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad. Moreover, the facts mentioned above are still fresh in the memory of the people of Hyderabad and they need not be mentioned here.

Police action opened a new chapter in the History of Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad.

There was a great satisfaction throughout India as the old regime ended and a new democratic set up was to begin. The Nizam, in the cease fire order issued on the 18th September, 1948 said, 'I have also issued orders immediately to release Swami Ramanand Tirth, President of the State Congress, who, I am sure will help Hyderabad in this crisis. I have also ordered the cancellation of orders and warrants against members of the Central Committee of Action of the State Congress. After his release, Swami Ramanand Tirth contacted Sri K. M. Munshi and in a broadcasting message appealed to the people to help the military in establishing law and order in the State.

Swami Ramanand Tirth was congratulated by the all India leaders including Sri T. Prakasam, the Ex-Chief Minister of Madras and Sri Kala Venkat Rao, the then Revenue Minister.

T. Prakasam said, 'Our gallant Indian troops have accomplished a work with lightning speed and liberated the enslaved population'. He congratulated the people of Hyderabad and particularly Swami Ramanand Tirth and his fellow workers of the State Congress.

Kala Venkat Rao said, "On the day the Hyderabad State Congress inaugurated its Satyagraha about a year ago I sent my message wishing it all success in its efforts to end the archaic Government. To-day is a proud day in the history of our nation. Our national militia has achieved the wonder of wonders in having secured control over the Nizam in less than five days. We must be proud of our army. I heartily congratulate Swami Ramanand Tirth and through him, the people of Hyderabad, more than half of whom are Andhras."

Swami Ramanand Tirth in a press note said that all the Hyderabad State Congress leaders had been released and they would be meeting here very soon to discuss their future plan of action. He said that the future of Hyderabad State had to be decided by the free will of the people in general who were very grateful to the union of India and particularly to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Prime Minister and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister for accurate appreciation of the situation in the State, and sending troops at a timely moment.

Swami Ramanand Tirth went to Delhi and had a talk with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, on 23rd September, 1948 and acquainted him with the situation in Hyderabad. Earlier, he met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and had a talk with him about Hyderabad affairs.

On his arrival in Delhi the Swami got into touch with all his colleagues of the All India States Peoples' Conference, particularly with Sheikh Abdullah, President of the Conference. He conveyed to him the Good wishes of the people of Hyderabad and their gratitude for the active help which he had pledged on behalf of both the Conference and the people of Kashmir.

The establishment of peace in Hyderabad was a glorious success to the people of the State. Swami Ramanand Tirth toured all the districts of the State and was welcomed by lakhs of people. Many addresses were presented to him and he was called the Liberator of the people, from feudal rule. But there was a sorry tale of a section of the people who had suffered before during and after the Police action. Swami Ramanand Tirth and his colleagues toured the districts where many people had fallen victims and had suffered

heavily. Hindus suffered before the police action at the hands of Razakars and the Muslims suffered as a result of police action and by the unsocial elements. The military Government of Hyderabad spent about 90 lakhs of rupees in rehabilitating the people who had suffered. Swami Ramanand Tirth and his colleagues helped the Government in the humanitarian work of rehabilitating the people of the State.

Swami Ramanand Tirth has got to his credit great political achievements. But he suffered two reverses in his political work. As soon as peace was established in Hyderabad he asked the High Command to transfer power to the State Congress which could form the Ministry. This demand was not conceded by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel for various reasons. He said the process of democratization should be slow and the military government will be replaced by a civil team to prepare the ground for the responsible government. Thus Swami Ramanand Tirth could not succeed in establishing popular government in Hyderabad immediately after the Police Action.

Secondly he could not continue in power as the Congress President as various forces were working against him. On account of the breach of discipline by some Congress-men disciplinary action was taken against them. There was a difference of opinion on this issue and Swami was requested not to do so. Then the dissident Congressmen formed a parallel organization with Sri Janardan Rao Desai as the President and Sri B. Ramakrishna Rao as the Secretary. They started agitation against the group of Swami Ramanand Tirth and Congress High Command had to intervene. The result was that Shri D. G. Bindu, a great colleague of Swami Ramanand Tirth was elected as the Congress President.

It is rightly said that in the freedom struggle, generally there is no group rivalry. But when the question of distribution of fruits of the struggle arises various groups spring up to capture power. That exactly happened in Hyderabad. After the general election in 1952 A.D. it fell to the lot of Sri B. Ramakrishna Rao to form a Cabinet as the Chief Minister. He not only maintained balance among various groups reflected in the Cabinet but also very ably conducted the administration for five years. During his regime many *development works were undertaken for the welfare of the people*. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the struggle started by the State Congress for responsible government in Hyderabad was crowned with success. Luckily Sri B. Ramakrishna Rao, Andhra leader, was the first and the last Chief Minister of Hyderabad Government which paved the way for the disintegration of Hyderabad and the formation of Andhra Pradesh.

Swamiji was elected to the Parliament in 1952 and he continued to be a member for ten years. He made a great contribution to the Parliamentary debates and his speeches were very much appreciated. After retirement from Parliament Swamiji has completely dedicated

himself to education and constructive work. He is now devoting much of his time to the spiritual development. He is working also for the memorial of Swami Rama Tirth and propagation of his philosophy. He is happy that his two objectives namely, integration of Hyderabad with the Indian Union and formation of linguistic States in the South are achieved.

Swami Ramanand Tirth's Life Mission is fulfilled. He has served the country and the people for more than four decades. A survey of political events in India for the last forty years and the review of the great contribution made by Swami Ramanand Tirth during this period to the National Movement led by Mahatma Gandhi show that he has fully paid the price of freedom. In Hyderabad it was he who led the people's movement successfully. He is a sanyasi and has no worldly ambitions except to serve the people. It is rightly said in Srimadbhagawata that great men live not for their self interest but for the welfare of the world and the progress of the people. His life is inspiring in many respects and the political work he has done in Hyderabad will certainly form an important chapter in the history of freedom struggle in India.



A PROFOUND INSPIRER

K. VAIDYANATHAN

AS I attempt to unfold the pages of political history of the Hyderabad State under the rule of the Nizam in the first half of this century, many an event of importance, connected to the life of revered late Vaman Ramesh Chandra Naik crowd in my mind. For in those early days, his life and what may be then be termed as political movement in the State were welded together into an undivided whole. It must be said to his credit that he along with a few of his close colleagues, awakened the social and political consciousness of the people of the State and goaded them to action to the extent possible under the then conditions. The Indian National Congress under the able leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was finding its way through and gradually building itself. The Britishers were still well established in their saddles. Under their all powerful protection, the Indian State rulers felt no qualms to throttle the aspirations of the people and crush any symptom of political awakening. He knew how to build up an organisation, how to gather workers round him, how to honour and help sincere workers. It may be said without any fear of contradiction that he was a man of the people and there was no aspect of the public life, educational, cultural, social and political too, which had not the endearing, enriching and soothing touch of his great personality.

The cruel hand of fate snatched him away from the midst of his people in a premature age in the forties of this century. His death created a void in the public life of the State which was too difficult to fill in. There was a vacuum and a stagnancy in the political arena for nearly half a decade and more thereafter. During this period, the Indian National Congress was making great strides and growing in strength. Its counter part, the States Peoples Conference, was also getting stronger and stronger. The people in Hyderabad State could not remain unaffected by the flow of events. Now and then, there were small but forceful currents in the state politics which created a stir in the placid surface, which was evidence of a deep and strong ferment at the deep recess of the minds of the people in the State. As the movement gained strength, the Government of the State, as all autocratic governments do and rely upon reactionary forces, set up the reactionary and fool hardy amongst the Muslims of the State to counter it. Events looked ominous.

Truly has it been said in the Bhagavad Gita unrighteousness increases and establish righteousness. He does it through some human agency only. His words should be fulfilled. He manifests himself in several forms and in several ways to fulfil the purpose of the time. Swami Ramananda Tirth was essentially an

educationist and therefore also a social constructive worker. Politics was foreign to his innate nature, upbringing and also the order to which he belonged. Yet, he felt that the cause which he espoused, which he longed to serve, to which he had dedicated himself, viz education of the youths, education of the generations yet to come, could not be truly fulfilled in the duress of those days without political freedom. His passionate thirst for social service could not be quenched under the political oppression of the people, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians and others. He, therefore, plunged into politics and filled in the void which was created by the passing away of late Vaman Naik and ably did he fill in the place. He played his part nobly, courageously and to a successful end till the fifties of the century. Record of events of those days, the bold and forthright manner in which he faced the threat enings and nefarious activities of Ittehadul-Muslamin under the misguided and fool hardy leadership of Kasim Razvi are well known to need recounting.

Although circumstances dragged him into the political arena deep in the bottom of his mind there was a longing passion in him to cut himself asunder from politics and devote to educational, social, cultural and spiritual activities. Hence, even as the leader of the State Congress later the State branch of the Indian National Congress he took keen interest in the constructive activities in the State and elsewhere too. Be it the labour movement be it the Khadi and Village Industries movement be it the library or other educational fields Swamiji's blessings and participation was

always had. Swamiji loved to endear himself to all sections of people, Communists, Socialists and Congressites, Hindus Muslims Christians and others without distinction. At times this brought him into grave troubles but, he, like a true leader of iron will stood the tempest and won the battles as every fighter of noble intent and purpose did, because, his was to love, soothe and bring into his fold all those that strayed away.

Whatever one may do in the steep current of events, in the exuberance of times, the innate nature asserts itself and ultimately he finds peace in things that are suited to his temperament, culture and upbringing. Truly has it been reflected in the life of Swamiji. Therefore he is now devotedly, peacefully and joyfully engaged in educational activities, connected as he is to many educational institutions in the Marathwada and to social and economic activity through the Hyderabad Khadi Samiti of which he is the founder president. I have no doubt that he will, even as he did in the political field see the fulfilment of his cherished hopes through these institutions.

Makharu Sankaranthi the fourteenth of January is the day on which long before Swamiji was initiated into the order of the Sanyasins of the Ram Thirtha mutt. I welcome and always recollect that day with pride and pleasure because it gave to us one whose life has been and will continue to be an inspirer of youths not only of Hyderabad but of the whole country. I wish him many returns of that auspicious day.

SWAMIJI: A SYMBOL OF EMANCIPATION

J B UPADHYAYA

I came in contact with Swami Ramanand Tirth in 1939 I had just then swallowed the first bitter and burning draught of the call for freedom, when as one of the senior students in the Osmania University, I too was called to lead the famous Vande Mataram movement. Overnight I became an unwanted stranger to all those near and dear ones, with whom I had an association spread over years. I was just 21 years old and was thinking of continuing my education, in M A at the Nagpur University.

Swami's institution the Yogeshwari Nutan Vidyalaya at Amba Jogai (Mominabad) was badly in need of a teacher, who could teach history and geography. Through a friend of mine I was taken to Swami who was then staying at Sunder Bhavan, Jam Bagh. Swami after enquiring about my willingness asked me to take up work immediately. In a couple of days I was at Mominabad a small place for me who had spent most of his life till then in Hyderabad. All along my journey from Hyderabad to Parli Vajinath, by train, I was feeling rather like changing my mind, at the sight of the undeveloped countryside and the dull atmosphere. When I got down at Parli Vajinath there was a sudden transformation in my mind. I completely forgot the comforts of the City and my earlier thoughts of changing

my mind had disappeared. The reason for this was the very affectionate and cordial welcome that was accorded to me by the two students from the school, who were deputed to receive me and take me by bus to Mominabad. It was almost 10 O'clock in the night when we reached Mominabad, and I was lodged in the student's hostel.

The next day, Sri Bethuji, the Head Master, who was gentlemanliness personified and he is the younger brother of Swami, drafted me for my work. Though I could stay for a few months in this institution, I can never forget the great and lasting impression it has made on my mind.

I wish to describe how the personality of Swami even in his physical absence from the place inspired and guided, every teacher and student of the institution.

When I recall to my mind the discipline and the nascent atmosphere of freedom and fearlessness, among the teachers and students of this school, I am reminded of Mahatma Gandhi's Ashram at Sevagram where I stayed for a few days in the early part of 1939.

Swami had established this school not merely to impart education according to the Government syllabus but to make out of the young boys, who came from different parts of the State, fearless fighters of freedom and

men of character and grit, who would devote their precious energy and time in achieving this object

Those were the days when the civil rights of the people were not only denied to them but such of those who thought of them were mercilessly persecuted. Even in the city of Hyderabad, elderly lawyers, who claimed to be the political representatives and leaders of the people and where there was comparatively more regard for them by the higher officials of the State, they in the name of political struggle did nothing more than passing one or two resolutions, taking into consideration the moods of the Government. Even in such an atmosphere, Mominabad had a freshness of its own, in advocating the rights of the people. The students fearlessly celebrated the 29th of January the day of demanding complete freedom, Tilak Jayanti and other occasions, inspite of the police watch on them.

The Police would be watching for the opportunity of catching the organisers and participants of such meetings red-handed, but all these were so cleverly manouvered that the Police was always the beaten side in this game.

This school was a training ground for the future freedom fighters of Hyderabad. Due to the high character and lofty ideals set down by Swamiji and austerity followed by the staff and students, the institution, not only commanded respect from the common people all over the State but was also a source of inspiration to them. The people loved it as their own child and were ready to sacrifice anything for its welfare. The secret of this popularity was the magic effect of Swamiji's personality behind the whole show. Though Swamiji was away in Hyderabad, people felt his presence in the Institution and respected and served it in the

same measure, as if he was bodily present there. I would mention just one example to illustrate my point. It was in the winter season, that year, that Mominabad was infected by plague, which was a regular annual visitor in those days in almost all the districts of Hyderabad. It was not possible to run the school in the town. It was decided to shift it outside in the jungles. Many people had moved out of the town. People when they came to know about the school, voluntarily offered, help in the form of supplying zinc sheets and erecting sheds and camps for the school. The school was shifted into the fields away from the town of Mominabad. Hardly had it functioned there for a fortnight when that place also became infected. Once again the problem of closing the institution began to occupy the minds of the responsible people. The students were not ready to go back to their native places because they were more at home with the disciplined and systematic life in the school than at their homes and the freedom of thought and movement they enjoyed under the care and guidance of the fearless teachers was not to be found anywhere else. With the popularity and respect that Swamiji and his institution commanded, it was not difficult to find alternative accommodation. Many surrounding villages invited the authorities to run the school at their own places, that were free from plague. It was at last shifted to a place called Ghatmandura. I want to impress upon the readers the importance of the great popularity, respect and admiration that Swamiji commanded even in the darkest days of repression, and how the people at the risk of all fearlessly served him and his cause. This shows how fearless and dynamic was his leadership. His leadership had the inspiring and energizing



Prime Minister Swamyji Bindu and Gurumurthy at a public meeting Secunderabad immediately after Police action



Swamiiji with the Nizam



Swamiiji with Vellodi and Ramakrishna Ray

freshness of a cool mountain breeze. People spontaneously responded to his call. I saw that inspite of the oppressive measures of the then Government and the severe restrictions on peoples' thought and movement, Swamiji and his workers moved freely in these regions and they commanded more obedience and following from the people than the Government officials.

I should describe the great ideals that inspired the members of the staff who worked with an inspiration of the true satyagrahis. They were not attracted to the school just for the sake of monetary gains. On the other hand they worked day and night for not only in teaching the students their lessons of the text-books, but in building up their character and grounding them to become fearless fighters of freedom. Here there was complete intellectual freedom. Study circles of various shades of opinion, under the guidance of able teachers were run. Many teachers, by their own personal life too, were identified as representing a particular school of thought. There were congressites, Ramadasis, Gandhians, Communists, Marxists followers of Shivaji etc. But all held Swamiji as their ideal and as their supreme leader and gave implicit obedience to him.

To mention a few members of the staff, Sri Bethuji the Head Master, was the fountain of kindness and sympathy, where as Baba Sahab was the live wire of the school in every department. He was the 'Sardar Patel' of the school. Whenever a tough problem, either of organisation or discipline or of providing conveniences to students, or funds, cropped up it was Baba Sahab, who had to handle them. In moments of crisis all eyes turned to Baba Sahab who was the most dynamic leader cum-teacher, next to Swamiji only.

Then there were two Deshpandes, apart from V. D. They were considered to be the epitomes of discipline in their personal life. They had developed so much self-control that they gave up cooked food for days together. If one lived on ground-nuts and parched rice, the other consumed fried gram and puffed rice only. One even made an experiment of living on grass itself. Very obedient students would gather with great affection tender blades of grass for their revered Gururji, as one would gather the tender 'durva' for Ganesh puja. In this institution one would find the reflection of the chaste and pure, selfless and inspiring atmosphere of the Ashrams of ancient Rishis, of the Buddhistic vibaras and the Gandhian ashrams. I have seen this kind of freshness in the very atmosphere, in a very few places, as in the Ashrams of Ramana Maharshi, at Tiruvannamalai or at Swami Sivananda's Ashram at Rishikesh and more so at Bapu's Ashram at Sevagram. When I am writing this article, my heart aches with an yearning to live once again in those days and in that atmosphere. Inspite of being in the thick of politics Swamiji, always had a special corner in his heart for this institution of his, that was the nursery of the future leaders.

I am compelled to think of Mahatmaji in this context who inspite of being in the thick of political movement never forgot the institutions he had created for carrying on constructive work as the Saranjam Karyalaya, the institution of Nai Talim, All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh etc. Swamiji has been gifted with the great, and rare capacity to attract people and also to hold them together. It is only a chosen few that are given these capacities by God to fulfil his missions.

Today we are a free people in a free country. The biggest task of moulding the people of

India into a disciplined nation is yet to be achieved. This can be achieved only when people are educated and trained not only in the socio-economic and political fields but more so in the ethical and spiritual fields. Unless the character and the thought of the younger generation is built upon these lines, it is very difficult to foresee the coming up of a great nation, that lives for its ideals and values rather than for, mere material gains only.

I feel that in this direction of the moral and spiritual regeneration of our society, Swamiji

has still to play his most important role. The make-up of his personality, his disciplined life, his determination and grit and the sweep of his mind and his powers of introspection, all help him to once again lead the common man to the path of real peace and progress.

May Poojya Swamiji live for many many years amidst us, to serve us and guide us and lift us from the mire of moral and spiritual fall. With this prayer, though selfish I once again pay my respects to this great champion of the Dandranarayana and the inspiring symbol of human emancipation.



SWAMIJI AS A JOURNALIST

V. H. DESAI

Those who have followed the Political career of Swami Ramananda Tirtha since the birth of the Hyderabad State Congress in 1939 till he came to hypnotise the people in the Hyderabad State during the 1947 freedom struggle, very many people—his closest friends and colleagues, his political opponents and keen observers of men—have given different versions about the man and his work. But today they all agree that but for Swami Ramananda Tirtha, Hyderabad State physically and emotionally would not have been integrated with the rest of the country, and it was again due to him that we are now having Andhra Pradesh State after the disintegration of the formerly princely State of Hyderabad.

My association, nay my contact, with Swamiji during the freedom struggle in 1947 was in no way different from the relations the Congress President had with other members of the Press, until I was myself arrested on 22nd November 1947, and detained in the same ward where stalwarts like Swamiji, Sri B. Ramakrishna Rao, Dr G. S. Melkote, Dr M. Chenna Reddy, Sri K. V. Ranga Reddy, Pandit Narendraraj, to name only a few, were detained. It was a blessing in disguise for me. Then Swamiji knew for the first time perhaps that I too responded to his call!

After the Police Action in September 1948 and soon after my release I joined 'The new

Life" in August 1949 on its editorial staff, and during the brief period of its life, I came closer to Swamiji and studied him. But my real association with him started when I was appointed as the Assistant Editor of "The Vision", under the editorship of Swamiji himself in April 1950. On that occasion he called it "a day" for himself as a journalist of no mean calibre, while writing "About Ourselves" to make his first how as Editor. He wrote "Frustration and darkness have encircled the people of Hyderabad. Causes apart, we have to face the grim reality. No people can move forward unless they see and feel light that can guide them even through the darkest moments. At times the prospects seem wellnigh impossible. Single-handed, or with many, 'The Vision' will try to show the light in its own humble, un-assuming all the same, clear way." The venture was on the pattern of Mahatma's 'Young India' and 'Harijan'.

Swamiji's journalism was abruptly cut-short on March 26, 1951, with the last appearance of 'The Vision', and during this short, but sweet period, Swamiji must have consoled himself that he did his job well and truly, as per the dictates of his conscience. Alas! There were not many people who could appreciate a new and vigorous journalism, such as 'The Vision'.

only by his political fervour offered himself as the first President of the Hyderabad State Congress and disobeyed the tyrannic orders of the Nizam's Government, with his four brilliant associates and courted arrest on the 24th of October 1938. He nominated Swamiji as the first dictator in whom were vested all the powers of the Working Committee to carry on the vigorous activities of the State Congress.

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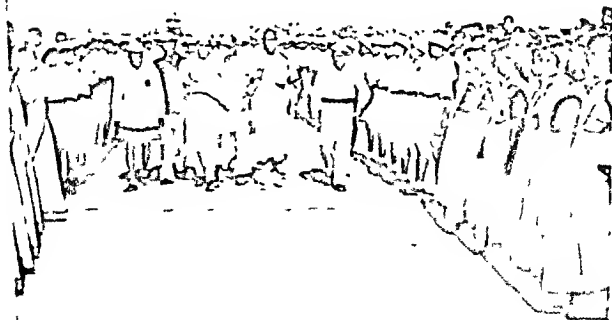
produced a grater effect than a flea bite to the huge leviathan of Nizam's Government. Though Swamiji was a Satyagrahi of the Gandhian brand the Nizam's police treated him as a vagrant and framed a charge against him. Swamiji appreciated the talents of the Hyderabad Police for assessing his activities quite accurately for being a Sanyasin, any spot in the whole world was as good as his home to him.

The statements issued by Swamiji after this occasion have always been the cream of political philosophy dyed in Gandhian colour. His statement, which was distributed on this occasion bristles with epigrams and aphorisms, pregnant with political truths. We refuse to be cowed down by the threats of Government. It has lost all moral support of the public. It has got to yield to the popular will. Opposition to tyranny is the worship of God. Keep the flame burning. Ours is a purely national game and play it. We are not to be deterred by any odds. No not even if the dearest and the nearest cry, look not back, advance forward and march. These sentences show the sterner stuff of which the Swamiji is made. He further said I am a Sanyasin and belong to no caste, creed or community. I stand above these. The whole world is my family and to serve is my religion. I find that the ideal of the State Congress is purely national and I join it in order to serve it as best as I can.

When in jail Swamiji was meted out worst treatment of which we learn from others. He himself witnessed a tragic event of inhuman and brutal treatment given by the Police in jail. It was the lashing and caning inflicted upon a Satyagrahi Ramchandra Rao who was disallowed to recite Vandemataram. Ramchandra Rao was lashed so severely that his blood-vessels ruptured, still he did not give up



Swamiji, Ramakrishna Rao and the Nizam waiting at the Air Port
for the arrival of the Prime Minister



Prime Minister at the point of departure by the Architects of
the Hyderabad State Congress at a Port

Swamiji's contribution to Hyderabad Journalism was not only super in its own way, but definitely introduced a type of journalism, which is very difficult to come by especially these days with the exception of Gandhi's own writings. Commercialism was not anywhere near Swamiji's scheme in running this journal. Not only Swamiji's, but all the Press personnel were inspired by the same ideal of service to the great cause for which the paper was started.

In spite of the hero-worship of Swamiji by the people of Hyderabad then, he never succumbed to the temptations of advertisements to earn cheap profits. It can be easily imagined what an enormous sum could have been earned by such a journal, which was being edited by no less an all-India personality like Swamiji. And, in conducting *The Vision* throughout its short life, he firmly stuck to his principles of the freedom of journalism from the taint of commercialism.

Journalism had its own typical growth in India. Men like Aurobindo Tilak, Gokhale, late Lajpatrai, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Deshbandhu Das and Rahimdranath and above all, Mahatma Gandhi—all had their journals through which they preached their views and influenced the minds of their countrymen in the ways of their own pursuits.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha is a great lover of his people and humanity, and he may not be a journalist in the orthodox sense of the term, but he showed that he is more than that, and if the profession does not recognise his services it will be the poorer for it.

All things said and done, I had my own pleasant experience with Swamiji as a journalist, so to say. Swamiji had given me a free hand in bringing out *The Gandhi Number* on January 30, 1951, and inspired by his words, I did bring out the special number, which

brought long-awaited "kudos" from him and I cherish the same to this day.

I now sometimes feel that Swamiji had done a great disservice to journalism by closing down *The Vision*. Perhaps he was too much ahead of the times, or perhaps, the time was not catching up with his new way of thinking. Some of the articles written by Swamiji then still hold good today, and indeed, they speak of the days ahead of us. I wish even now that Swamiji should take to editing at least a monthly magazine, which should enable the people to follow the many currents and cross-currents in every walk of our life in a proper perspective.

Swamiji must return to journalism and try to lead the people on the right road to progress.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha was a lion in the garb of saffron-robes. It was he who delivered the goods on behalf of the people of the erstwhile Hyderabad State. His message to the detainees of the Gulherga jail in July 1948 still echoes in the ears of many a freedom fighter.

I will hold on the banner aloft even at the risk of being shot, were the words of Swamiji, which rekindle light in the darkness even to this day.

Swamiji was an idealist-journalist and that was why he had not a long run as Editor. That was one among the many greatest tragedies that Swamiji had to experience in his political career. But, Swamiji still can stage a come-back as a super-journalist. May he live long and continue to guide the people through his silent work. Whether in power or not, the name of Swamiji would go down in modern history of India, as a man who awakened the people from slumber, and then made them men out of the dust.

As a journalist, I deem it my privilege to salute him on his 61st Birthday. May God grant him many many happy returns of the day. ✻

SWAMIJI THE FATHER OF POLITICAL TRANSITION IN THE NIZAM'S STATE

R. M. JOSHI

A confused mind is unable to determine the cause of a phenomenon and particularly so when the event is huge and complex. Inductive logic has exhaustively analysed the aspect of philosophy and has offered scientific rules to establish causal relations in a series of occurrences. Without thinking in the light of these principles to locate the cause of a complex phenomenon is not easy.

The Nizam's State was ruled by a monarch Nawab Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur till the 17th of September 1948 since which date the State became a part of the Democratic Sovereign Republic of India. Who was responsible for this great political cataclysm? To determine this is a very knotty problem. Some say Major General J. N. Chaudhari freed the State from the shackles of slavery. There are others who hold that the renunciatory spirit of the Nizam himself was the cause of this transformation. There are others who cleverly locate this responsibility on the shoulders of Sri Kasim Razvi, the supreme commander of the Razakars. While Sardar Patel, the Iron man of Bharat, is considered to be the sole person who dismantled the barriers preventing the free play of democratic atmosphere in the State. This list can be enlarged interminably and yet one shall have to admit that there is only a grain of truth in all these views but none of them is

the indispensable cause of this political metempsychosis. There are a few highbrowed critics who dislike to associate personalities with this transformation of immense magnitude and aver that the forces of democracy unleashed at the conclusion of the Second World War are the root cause of the total disappearance of autocracy from the Nizam's State. But we, after carefully studying the chain of events and weighing its different links, look upon Swami Ramananda Tirtha as the father of this great political transition. We shall discuss this matter briefly here and establish the authenticity of our remark in the following few lines.

Swamiji made his public appearance on the stage of Hyderabad State in 1929 as an educationist and a social worker. Before this he had fully qualified himself to betake to the cause of his choice. Swamiji was gifted with remarkable mental and intellectual qualities tempered with moderation and gentility. He was highly educated before he offered to join the educational institution at Hipperga, a Paigah village in the Osmanabad district. He had acted as secretary to the famous International Labour leader Narayan Malhar Joshi of Bombay and completed his apprenticeship for social and political work. In his mission to advance the cause of labour, he had organised a strike at Sholapur and was arrested. This discipline had

seasoned him to become a good leader and commander. It is said he alone can command well who knows to obey well. Another significant trait that fully fitted him for the mission of his life was he had donned the other robe of a Sanyasin. Swamiji never hankers after authority to obtain material aggrandizement. Many people think Swamiji shot up like a meteor on the political horizon of Hyderabad. But nothing is more untrue than this. Shortsighted and unwary persons are not able to discuss the heaps of intelligent hard work piled behind the apparently sparkling surface of a great piece of art. Swamiji galvanised the atmosphere at Hipperga and converted the institution into a radiating centre for good and then moved to Mominabad in Beed district in 1932. He laid deep foundations for another educational institution on the fertile soil of the Jogeshwari Vidyalaya, which has evolved into a full-fledged First Grade Degree College for Art & Science. The impressionable young students and enthusiastic workers had a profound impact of Swamiji's personality and they imbibed a spirit of patriotism and self-denial. Yet Swamiji's influence had not reached Hyderabad or any other part of the State except the Marathwada. The Jogeshwari Vidyalaya affair proved to be a very strenuous task. He had to pay repeated visits to Hyderabad and dance attendance at the offices of the State Educational authorities, to secure permission for every progressive step from primary to the High School stage. Swamiji is a model of patience and perseverance. He met local leaders in Hyderabad drafted and redrafted petitions both in Urdu and English according to varying suggestions of local influential men, submitted the applications and secured permission for the High School. No wonder that the results of this Vidyalaya were superior to those of the

Government schools. Few could realise the significance of such radical peaceful work. Lawyers, doctors, bankers and merchants could not understand how Swamiji was nourishing the roots of the budding generations.

Though the Nizam's Government was moving heaven and earth to prevent the penetration of democratic influences in the State, still the thoughtful were alerted by the din and thunders of the Gandhian era. They attended the annual Congress sessions, read political literature and became keenly conscious of their slavery. Parishads and Sabhas were started for all the three regions in the State. The first such Parishad was held at Partur, in Marathwada under the presidentship of late Sri Govind Rao Nanal in 1937. Swamiji attended the Conference in his unassuming manner but came into contact with numerous workers from Marathwada all vibrant with aspirations for a bright political future for the country. A switch over from educational field to a wider one with a definite aim was quite congenial to the nature of Swamiji.

The second session of the Parishad took place at Latur in 1938 where the collector had pitched his camp to watch and control the proceedings of the Conference. The organisers exercised moderation but the Collector was bent upon putting a brake and assert Government authority. A few enthusiasts desired to be stubborn and disobey the orders. But it was Swamiji who came forward to tell the firebrand workers that they were not organised and disciplined therefore the wisest thing for them was to beat retreat and be discrete. If they really meant to launch civil disobedience they should choose another path and not be spasmodic and boisterous. It was here that the people could see the first flashes of Swamiji's

spiritual strength Friends requested Swamiji to sever his connection with educational institutes and work for the political emancipation of the State It was at this time that Kashinath Rao Vaidya who presided over the People's Educational Conference invited Swamiji to participate in the deliberations of the Conference He made critical observations on the Mackenzie Report He was invited to speak in the celebrations of the Ganesh Utsav at several places in Hyderabad He delivered an inspiring lecture on the Janmashtami at the Osmania University

Swamiji's entry on the political stage was smooth and silent Communion with Nature and companionship of innocent children are dearest to Swamiji but he denied those spiritual pleasures to himself and threw himself into the political arena Till the attainment of freedom for the State, he had to face all the merciless measures used against him by the repressive Government of the Nizam And you can never find a better smiling and willing sufferer than Swamiji for the cause of justice and peace Though he never aspired to hold even the highest post in the administration, when offered, he had to deal with personalities in power Being a true Sanyasin, he does not like to give scope to misunderstanding and prejudice But when you deal with personalities, inspite of equity and fairplay, you have to face angularities of human mind Swamiji's great sacrifice in treading the rough path of politics was that he had to give him mental equipoise and unnecessarily to soil his hands

Leaders in Hyderabad were eager to set up an organisation like the State Congress after returning from the Harijura Congress The necessity for Responsible Government was emphatically voiced in the People's Convention this year (1938) A Provisional Committee

was formed in July 1938 Appeals were issued to start an organisation like the State Congress Membership drive was vigorously pursued and 9th September was fixed for holding a General Body meeting at which elections of office-bearers would be effected But the Nizam's Government headed by Sri Akbar Hydari tried every means in its power to frustrate the plans for the formation of such a political body The aims and objects of the organisation were the attainment of Responsible Government under the aegis of the Nizam and there were no restrictions imposed on memberships The Government dubbed the organisation as communal Mahatmaji wrote in the Harijan issue of the 17th Sept 1938 regarding this He said "What can be the meaning of communalism in a State which is overwhelmingly one population according to religion?" Negotiations, deputations, declarations, discussions, and statements were in full swing Names of persons like Bahadur Yar Jung, Ali Yar Jung, Narsing Rao Vaidya, Ramakrishna Rao and Ramchar appeared and reappeared in papers but the name of Swami Ramananda Tirtha was conspicuous by its absence He was watching the events studying the developments very carefully Responsible Government was the mildest political form sought by the People But the 12% minority which was appropriating all the privileges and pleasure of the 88% majority always disliked even this It is a superhuman mind alone which insists on justice deprives itself of all comforts and conveniences Come what may, it was decided to launch Satyagraha at the earliest

Late Sri Govindrao Nanal, the greatest man discovered by the political renaissance in Hyderabad, a house-holder, with numerous ties and tethers of affection and responsibility, whose devotion to the God head was equalled

only by his political fervour offered himself as the first President of the Hyderabad State Congress and disobeyed the tyrannic orders of the Nizam's Government, with his four brilliant associates and courted arrest on the 24th of October 1938. He nominated Swamiji as the first dictator in whom were vested all the powers of the Working Committee to carry on the vigorous activities of the State Congress.

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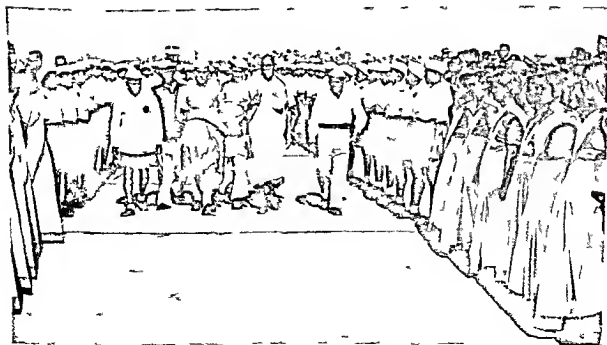
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Swamiji, Ramakrishna Rao and the Nizam waiting at the Air Port
for the arrival of the Prime Minister



Prime Minister at the guard of honour by the Volunteers of
the Hyderabad State Congress at air Port



Swami with Sri Prakash, Governor of Maharashtra



Swami with Yeshwant Rao Chavan

recitation till he lost consciousness. The whole Hyderabad is proud of him and he is called Vandemataram Ramchandra Rao.

When the Satyagraha of the State Congress was suspended on 24th December 1938, under instructions from Gandhiji, Swamiji was released on 10th April 1939. The Working Committee of the State Congress met at Manmad on the 11th, 12th and 13th of September 1939. Between April and September Swamiji was active in having tours in Marathwada. At Latur Swamiji discussed future programme for the State Congress. This programme related to opening of a Harijan school, starting of Labour Union, inauguration of the branches of the Charkha Sangh, and Khadi Bhandar and restarting the Satyagraha. At Manmad the question of changing the name of the State Congress was discussed very vigorously but no decision was taken. Sri Nanal was elected President and Swamiji the Secretary. The whole Working Committee waited upon Mahatmaji at Wardha and it was decided to conduct correspondence with the Nizam's Government to ascertain the cause of banning the State Congress. Kashinath Raoji Vaidya was authorised to carry on negotiations, which were profusely influenced by Gandhiji's advice obtained by Swamiji by repeated visits to Wardha. But the negotiations proved abortive. It was decided to offer individual satyagraha. Swamiji was always docile in prison and yet he was treated with severity. He was released on the 15th of December 1941 when he travelled to Wardha to spend a few days with Mahatmaji to receive fresh energy and have his spiritual battery charged afresh. All India State's Peoples' Conference was still working under the guidance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Swamiji attended the session in 1942. Mahatmaji and Panditji both addressed the

Conference. The directions given by both these stalwarts gave an indication that the final struggle for the attainment of freedom would be launched, and therefore the State's People need not continue their regional struggles as isolated. They should therefore, convey this message to the people in the State and prepare them for final bid for freedom. This was the beginning of the "Quit India" movement, as started on the 9th of August 1942. Swamiji was enthused like a true patriot and desired to come to Hyderabad and discussed this matter and convinced all, the supreme necessity of such a change in their outlook. He apprehended his arrest before he could deliver this message. The fundamental idea was if people in British India succeeded in securing freedom, the people in the State shall become free without any special effort. Swamiji had drafted a letter to be addressed to the Nizam and it was his earnest desire that it should reach the Nizam before he was arrested. Swamiji succeeded in passing on his draft letter to Dr. Melkote, before Swamiji was arrested on the platform of Nampalli station on the 9th of August 1942.

Dr. Melkote signed the letter himself and posted it addressed to the Nizam. This letter is long and cannot be quoted. It is a very powerful letter carefully worded unfailing in its effect. One of the paragraph reads as follows. "The State Congress insists on the maintenance of the unity of India both territorially and political and it finally believes that there should be harmonious development of India under a uniform system of government in all its parts despite the political variations created and maintained by the British for perpetuation of its imperialism. It further believes that the different governments both in the provinces and states should owe allegiance

to the Union Government of Free India." The letter requested the Nizam to grant Responsible Government, release all patriots imprisoned.

Swamiji was confined into the Chanebalguda jail where he came into close contact with leaders from Karnatak and Telengana, prominent among whom were Sri Jagannathrao Chandraki and Sri Jamlapuram Keshav Rao an indefatigable organiser. Swamiji was released in November 1943. He was invited to attend the States Peoples Conference at Srinagar by Sheikh Abdulla. Pandit Nehru addressed the Conference and advised the Kashmiries and the Hyderabadies to take extreme precaution to see that the liberation movement in both the places does not become violent and communal. Swamiji did not participate in the Jaipur session of the All India States People's Conference. A very well worded resolutions was passed about Hyderabad and forwarded by Pandit Nehru to the President of the Executive Council. Many forces were at work. Wheels moved within wheels and the ban imposed upon the State Congress was

they could be. The session took place at Musheerabad on three days 16th, 17th & 18th of June 1946 on a very magnificent scale. Swamiji's address was frank and fearless. It was packed with facts lucid in import and exacting in demands. We quote from a paragraph:-

The Government of Hyderabad is very callous in meeting the demands of the people. It is continuing its existence on the suppression of the people. It has thwarted the growth of the people on all sides. By its short-sighted educational policy of discouraging private enterprise, and imposition of Urdu as the medium of instruction by suppression of civil liberties it has prevented the normal growth of political consciousness. We do not think in terms of Muslim Raj or Hindu Raj. We demand people's raj in Hyderabad, a democratic regime under which every citizen irrespective of caste colour or creed would enjoy honoured existence and shall get equal opportunity for his economic, social and political uplift. Resolutions were passed. Every one of them backed at the pedestal on which was seated autocracy,

see and feel the torrential onslaught of democratic sentiments. Swamiji's message had permeated every corner of the State. 7th of August 1947 was observed as a Joint Indian Union Day. Resisting of atrocities of the Government had reached their climax. Swamiji himself offered Satyagraha on the 15th of August and was arrested and put in jail. Heart-rending negotiations for patching up a Standstill Agreement culminated on the 29th of November 1947. Swamiji was again released immediately after this. He toured through the neighbouring provinces and created tremendous goodwill in the hearts of the people. He entered the State on the significant day of 26th of January 1948 but again he was taken into custody. He had the tact and suavity to contract friendships and create confidence among his associations. In all the three regions of the State there were scores of intelligent, patriotic and self-sacrificing persons who obeyed his word as law. Swamiji's release was

announced by the Nizam himself on the 17th of September 1948. Swamiji's personality has been refined and ennobled in the burning crucible of trials and tribulation, sacrifice and suffering and yet he has not lost his simplicity, Sweetness and service. A look at the "who is who" of the Lok Sabha for 1952-1957 will convince anyone that here is a priceless diamond which was taken to be a mere pebble by fools. This bright and blazing chart of a few activities of Swamiji should enable the people to agree with us that Swami Ramananda Tirth is the architect of free Hyderabad.

Before concluding we pray to the Almighty that healthful longevity of full hundred years be bestowed on this great house-holder who has the whole human population as members in his family.

More tough than steel and more soft than butter are the hearts of the great, who can boast to diagnose their hearts and find, of what wonderful simples are they compounded.



हैदराबाद खादी समिति और स्वामीजी

वासुदेव नाईक

क़ताई बुनाई और खादी का प्रयोग ये सभी राष्ट्रपिता गांधीजी के अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण रचनात्मक कार्य हैं। भारत की स्वाधीनता के समान ही ये कार्य भी राष्ट्रपिता के लिए प्रिय थे। खादी के निर्माण और प्रयोग में जहां देश की आर्थिक समस्या का हल था वहां व्यक्ति को नियन्त्रण प्रिय और संयमी बनाना भी इष्ट था। यही कारण है कि खादी का निर्माण केवल भौतिक लाभ और प्रामोयोग की लक्ष्यपूर्ति नहीं करता अपितु इसके पीछे व्यक्ति निर्माण की एक स्फूर्तिदायक प्रेरणाशक्ति भी कार्य करती है। इसी लिए वर्तमान भौतिक प्रगति और यान्त्रिक विकास के युग में भी खादी हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन का एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग है। म गांधीजीने अपनी अलौकिक शक्ति से खादी को एक दर्शन का स्वरूप दिया है। हरिजनोद्धार, प्रामोक्षति, सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक समानता, जैसे महत्वपूर्ण तथा अत्यंत रचनात्मक कार्यों की श्रेणी में ही खादी निर्माण भी एक कार्य है।

राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी के इस प्रिय कार्य को देश ने सर्वत्र अपनाया और इस के विकास-विस्तार में जी-जान से जुट गया। हैदराबाद भी इस क्षेत्र में किस प्रकार पीछे रह सकता था। यद्यपि अधोगामी शक्तियों ने नाना प्रकार के प्रयत्नों से हैदराबाद को नवयुग के नव निर्माण से बंक्ति रखने का प्रयत्न किया तथापि यहां के निवासियों ने जाग्रतियुग के नवसन्देश को अपनाया और १९३१ में तत्कालीन हैदराबाद राज्य का सर्व प्रथम खादी भंडार पं जवाहरलालजी नेहरू के करकमलों द्वारा स्थापित किया। उसी के साथ स्व जानुजी ने श्री अय्यासाहेब सहस्रजुद, श्री टी बी रेले और श्री घोरेजी जैसे कर्मठ महात्माओं को लेकर मेटपल्ली में खादी का निर्माण-केन्द्र खोला। इस केन्द्र ने उत्पादन और प्रकार की दृष्टि से अखिल भारतीय ख्याति प्राप्त की। धीरे-धीरे खादी का प्रयोग बढ़ता गया। बढ़ती हुई मांग को देख कर अनेक व्यक्तियों ने खादी की आय का साधन बनाया। किन्तु प्रामाणिक खादी उत्पादन में महारुझों को

उजरत की ऊंची दरें प्राप्त होती थीं, इस लिए खानगी व्यवसायो को विशेष प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिला।

सन १९३९ से १९४५ तक यहां पर खादी उत्पादन महाराष्ट्र चरखा संघ के अन्तर्गत चलता रहा। १९४५ ई. में हैदराबाद चरखा सघने इस कार्य को अपने हाथ में लिया, जिसके अध्यक्ष स्व रामचन्द्ररावजी अतु और श्री रामकृष्णजी धूत मन्त्री थे। सन १९४८ ई में अखिल भारतीय स्विनर्स असोसिएशनने निश्चय किया कि केन्द्रीय सघटन को विलीन करके स्थानीय संस्थाओं और ट्रस्ट्स को यह कार्य सौंपा जाए। इस निश्चय के अनुसार सर्वाध्य सम्मेलन शिवरामपल्ली के अवसर पर १५ एप्रल १९५१ में हैदराबाद खादी समिति की स्थापना हुई। इसके अध्यक्ष पूज्य स्वामी रामानन्दजी तीर्थ थे। मुझ पर मन्त्री पद का भार डाला गया। खादी समिति के स्थापना—दिवस से ही पूज्य स्वामीजी का मार्गदर्शन प्राप्त होना अत्यंत शुभ सिद्ध हुआ। स्वामीजी के अनुभवी तथा प्रभावशाली व्यक्तित्व के कारण समिति के कार्यों का निरन्तर विकास होता गया और खादी का उत्पादन एवं विकास को बल मिला।

जिस समय हैदराबाद खादी समिति ने कार्य संभाला था, उस समय खादी का प्रयोग करनेवालों की संख्या बर रही थी। बढ़ती हुई मांग की पूर्ति के लिए अनेक स्थानों पर खादी उत्पादन के केन्द्र खुलने लगे म गांधी की प्रेरणा से अनेकों ने बल स्वावलम्बन के लक्ष्य से अपने-अपने लिए शुरू किया। किन्तु प्रतिकूल परिस्थिति, साधन सम्पन्नता और योग्य नेतृत्व के अभाव में ये स्थानीय केन्द्र बन्द होते जा रहे थे। महाराष्ट्र सेवा सघ और हैदराबाद खादी समिति में एक समन्वित के द्वारा बाबेला और मेटपल्ली का निरीक्षण कार्य समिति को सौंपा गया था। १९५७ में जब इन समन्वित की अवधि समाप्त हुई तो हैदराबाद खादी समिति ने खादी उत्पादन का कार्य सीधे अपने प्ररन्ध में ले लिया।

सौभाग्य से हैदराबाद खादी समिति को मराठाष्ट्र चरखा सघ के अत्यंत अनुभवी और निष्ठवान व्यक्तियों को सेवाएँ प्राप्त हुईं। इन में श्री चान्दुरकर, राणेजी, बालराम भूति के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं। इन व्यक्तियों के निरीक्षण के फलस्वरूप आज बाबेलाल और मेटपल्ली केन्द्रों पर प्रतिवर्ष ५० लाख रुपयों की खादी का उत्पादन हो रहा है।

खादी उत्पादन की विशेषता यह है कि प्रत्येक परिवार इसके उत्पादन की इकाई है। इस दृष्टि से खादी के आदर्शों को सुरक्षित रखते हुए खादी के निष्पान में अनेक कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ता है। इन कठिनाइयों में प्रशिक्षण (Training) भी एक बड़ी कठिनाई है इसके लिए इन केन्द्रों पर सैद्धान्तिक और प्रयोगिक (Theory & Practice) प्रशिक्षण के लिए विद्यालयों की स्थापना की गयी। इन विद्यालयों में देशभर से लोग आकर प्रशिक्षित होते रहते हैं।

खादी के इतिहास में अम्बर चख का प्रयोग भी उत्तमनीय घटना है। इसके कारण एक ओर खादी का उत्पादन बढ़ा तो दूसरी तरफ मजदूरों की उजरत में भी उद्भि हुई। परिश्रमालयों में अम्बर चखों के प्रयोग की शिक्षा दी जाती है, जिनसे हजारों लोग लाभ उठा रहे हैं। अम्बर चखों के प्रयोग में श्री सत्यनारायण सिंह और श्री कृष्णदास गांधी की सेवाएँ उल्लेखनीय हैं। इस समय समिति १३५ परिश्रमालय चलाती है और ७८७४ अम्बर चखों वितरित किये गये हैं। ये परिश्रमालय हैदराबाद, नल्गोडा, मेदक, करीमनगर, खम्मम, नट्टूरनगर और मराठवाडा तथा कनाटक में हैं। किन्तु अम्बर चख के प्रयोग से नवीन समस्याएँ सामने आ रही हैं। यह एक यन्त्र है, अतः इसको सदैव अच्छी स्थिति में रखने के लिए, बिगाड पैदा होने पर उसकी मरम्मत के लिए तथा उसकी देखभाल के लिए बड़े प्रबन्ध की आवश्यकता है। बीसिया लोग इसके लिए रखने पड़ते हैं। इस कठिनाई के होते हुए भी अम्बर चख बहुत उपयोगी सिद्ध हुआ है और इसमें मिल से टकरा देने की क्षमता उत्पन्न हो गयी है। इसके अधिक सुधार का भी प्रयत्न चल रहा है।

खादी उत्पादन में विवेकशीलता 'नये मोड' का नाम से यद किया जाता है। म गांधीजी विवेकशीलता पर काफी बल देते थे। उन खादी में भी इसी नीति का अवलम्बन किया गया। यह खादी के लिए आत्मनिर्भरता की दृष्टि से किया गया है। ग्रामों की इकाई का विकास के लिए प्राप्त किया गया है। पूर्ण अधिकार दिये गये हैं। खादी की बड़ी-बड़ी

संस्थाओं का भी विवेकशीलता किया जा रहा है। अब जिला सब से बड़ी इकाई रहेगी और गांव सबसे छोटी इकाई। इस परिवर्तन से खादी समिति और उसके कार्यकर्ताओं पर बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी आ गयी है। विवेकशीलता के कारण अधिक परिश्रम, अधिक त्याग और अधिक प्रबन्ध बुद्धि की आवश्यकता है। मिति इस 'नये-मोड' को सफल बनाने के लिए कृत-संकल्प है।

खादी की खपत में भी काफी वृद्धि हुई है। १९५१-५३ में ₹ ८०३४३४ की खादी बिकी थी। १९६०-६१ में ₹ ५५६३३०४ की खादी बिकी। खादी के मार्ग में उसका मूल्य एक बड़ी कठिनाई है। उसे मिल के मस्ते कपड़े का मुकाबला करना पड़ता है। हाथ और यन्त्र में कोई सुकावला नहीं है। फिर भी खादी की खपत बढ़ रही है। इससे इसकी लोकप्रियता की कपना की जा सकती है खादी केवल एक कपड़े के रूप में हमारे सामने नहीं आती। खादी पीछे एक पवित्र सिद्धान्त है, एक उत्कृष्ट दर्शन है, त्याग-बलिदान का एक इतिहास है। समर्थ और असमर्थ को जोड़नेवाली एक बड़ी है। इस खादीने बाहरपते अमीर-गरीब के अन्तर को मिटा दिया है। इस खादी ने मानव-कला या हस्तकला की सर्वोत्कृष्टता को बढ़ा दिया है आज हाथ के बने हुए कपड़े मिल के काटों से प्रकार रंग-रूप और सोन्दर्य में होड़ रहे हैं।

समिति के संचालक धीरे-धीरे बम्बल तथा अन्य ग्रामोद्योगों को भी विकसित करने की योजना बना रहे हैं। निर्माताओं और उपभोक्ताओं (Producers and Consumers) के बीच के कमीशन एजेंटों को हटाकर निर्धन निन्ताताओं के शोषण को रोकने में समिति और ऐसे ही सघन कार्य कर रहे हैं। निश्चित रूप से जनता का सहकार्य ऐसी राष्ट्रीय योजनाओं को सफल बनाने में अपेक्षनीय है।

समिति के इन सभी कार्य में पूज्य स्वामी रामानन्दजी तीर्थ का योगदान उल्लेखनीय है। खादी-निर्माण और खादी-प्रयोग दोनों का प्रेम, रचनात्मक और मानविक व्यक्तियों का सहकार्य प्राप्त होता रहा है। हैदराबाद खादी समिति को भी पूज्य स्वामीजी के समान त्यागी सन्ध्याओं का मार्ग-दर्शन प्राप्त होना मिति के समस्त सदस्यों के लिए अत्यंत धन्य और उल्लेखनीय बात है। भविष्य में भी हम स्वामीजी महाराज के प्रेरणादायक व्यक्तित्व से काफी बल और उत्साह प्राप्त करते रहेंगे।

IMPORTANT SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF POOJYA SWAMIJI

V H DESAI

To write an appraisal of so great a personality as Swami Ramananda Tirtha, the biographer is up against a difficulty, as one will have to write not about one person who bears this name, but of several personalities known as Swami Ramananda Tirtha.

There's a Swami who was very much in the public eye for his oratory in the hey-days of the Congress movement in the erst-while H E H the Nizam's Government when clad in saffron robes he swayed the minds of men by his moving speeches. And, there's Swami whose writings in his own weekly, *The Vision*, served as the beacon-light for lovers of democratic values to guard one-self against the enemies of the people in the wake of the ushering in of a democratic era in the former Hyderabad State.

Since Swami took over the mantle of Presidentship of the then Hyderabad State Congress in 1942 till he resigned in 1950, he had spoken perhaps mainly about the political aspects of the freedom movement in the former Hyderabad State. If his speeches were to be taken as any indication of his outlook on life, Swami did express on several occasions his confirmed belief in socialism much before the Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress adopted as its new creed: 'The Socialistic pattern of Society'.

No Quarters to People's Enemies

The Hyderabad State Congress wants to obliterate all those elements that obstruct the people's freedom and Hyderabad's onward march. It wants to remove the reactionary forces and the jagirdari system which hinder the progress and to bring true democracy in Hyderabad declared Swami in 1946 (1355F) in an answer to the ultimatum of H E H The Nizam's Government.

Swami's speeches were pointed and direct. In fact his speeches at various places, and from time to time, during the Freedom movement clearly explain the situation in the State then.

Hyderabad's Future with India

Warning the Government of Hyderabad for their any hasty action to keep Hyderabad isolated from the Indian Union Swami said:

The people of Hyderabad can live as inhabitants of Free India, and Hyderabad can command respect only as an inseparable part of Free India. We shall be loyal to and friendly towards Hyderabad which will link up its future with Free India. The people of Hyderabad can never, never be friendly to it, if it keeps its future separate from that of India" (Shchrewar 13,1355) 19 July 1941

Hyderabad, Part of Indian Revolution

Swami on (Shchrewar 24,1355 F) 3 7-46

made a significant observation while addressing a public meeting held at Begum Bazar in Hyderabad on the Government's lifting of the ban on the Hyderabad State Congress and said: "A political revolution will come about in India and Hyderabad cannot escape it... I say that the ban on the Hyderabad State Congress was lifted after 8 years, but Responsible Government will have to be brought within eight years." In fact this was achieved much earlier. It was in September 1948 that the Police Action against Hyderabad ended one of the last chapters of the Indian Freedom Movement and with the rest of India, Hyderabad too went to the polls for the first General Elections held throughout the country in the year 1952

People's Reforms stand for no one Community

About the so-called Reforms initiated by H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, just to divert the attention of the public from the State Congress' popular slogans, Swamiji in his speech in Sultan Bazar (Hyderabad) public meeting, held on (Shehrewar 30, 1355 F.) 5-8-46 pertinently asked: "A Muslim friend of mine had asserted in his speech that the Muslims hold a special position. I ask, what provision is there in the Reforms to better the condition of the wife of the poor Muslim Jhatkawala and the Rani who wanders about the streets begging?"

The Might of the People

Swamiji during his speeches never failed to draw the attention of the Government about the folly of their stand in regard to the popular demands of the people. In his characteristic way at Dhulpet public meeting (Hyderabad again) held on Meher 2, 1355 F. (June, 1946) Swamiji once again reminded the Nizam's Government the might of the people.

He said: "The world history shows that the people who can set up a Government can also change it. Thus the basic right of changing the Hyderabad Government rests with the people of Hyderabad. The Hyderabad State Congress wants to make it fully clear to Government that this is its conception of Responsible Government. I frequently tour the districts. If you go to villages you will see that after the collection of levy, not one seer of Jawar is left for the peasant. If you question him (peasant), regarding his opinion about the Hyderabad Government, he would say that it should be wiped out. He does not know the President of the Council (The Prime Minister of the State then), or other top officials. He says so being extremely disgusted with the highhandedness of the Patels, Patwaris, Girdawars and Tahsildars. I would like to ask, why is this distrust in the Government? It is because, the officials are responsible to none."

Congress Stands for All People

Refuting the Government's charges that the State Congress represents the Hindu Community, Swamiji asserted in the same Meeting: "If any attempt is made to form a Hindu Government in Hyderabad, I would be the first to oppose it. But I would like to say this also that there can be no Muslim rule in Hyderabad. There will be only a people's government", Continuing, he observed: "... As I have said, much sacrifice is required to bring Responsible Government in Hyderabad.. There has not yet started any revolt against Government. I would like to say it in clear terms that we want to change, to overthrow the Government of today. We do not want to keep it. I say this, considering the situation" (Meher 2, 1355). 8-8-46.

Clarion Call to People

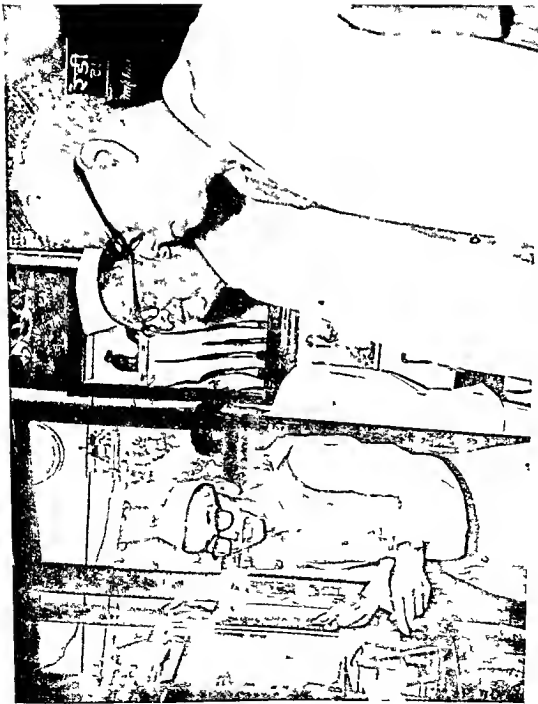
On the eve of the historic struggle launched in Hyderabad State, Swami Ramananda Tirtha carried the entire gathering that crowded in thousands and lakhs behind him at the Sultan Bazar public meeting (Meher 17, 1355) 2nd 8 46 His clarion call on that occasion still remains green in the minds of those who have heard him then. Swamiji in his clarion call to the people declared

'We lag behind in sacrifice. The time has now arrived. You resort to picketing, strike, hartal by closure of shops. The students will have to come out and oppose the Government peacefully. We would ask the Hyderabad people to go to jail in thousands until the Government concedes our demands and changes its attitude. We know the force behind us, and depending on it, we are moving forward. The Hyderabad people are with the State Congress. To gain support to the Reforms, the Government has formed a Praja Party with the help of a pensioned High Court Judge. I would like to make the Government realise that it can no longer dupe us. Its attempts are futile. The Hyderabad State Congress, alone can represent Hyderabad, and the Hyderabad people will prove by dint of their action that the State Congress has the power to set up the Responsible Government in Hyderabad. I would like to say that the Government to be formed in India will make decisions regarding Hyderabad. We would not bother about the Hyderabad Government. The Central Government is our Government, as the Administration in Hyderabad will be subject to the Central Government. The Hyderabad Government will be a democratic government in a Free India. It is possible that while acting in pursuance of the resolution boycotting the reforms adopted by the Stand-

ing Council, the workers and Standing Council members of the State will have to court imprisonment from time to time. I cannot say when they will be arrested. But it is your duty to act up to this decision. I would like to say to the Muslim brethren that the decision of direct action' preached by the State Congress and published by the National News Agency might create a communal environment. But the Hyderabad State Congress does not want this. We will stick to our creed and see that it is recognised. If you, (perhaps, the Muslims) do not make any sacrifice and discharge your duty, we, (the Hindus) will have to discharge our duty. The present time demands sacrifice and action—not mere speeches and babbling.'

A New Era for State Congress Begins

As soon as the ban was lifted in July 1946, the three parts of the State, viz Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak Parishads merged themselves into the State Congress. Delivering his Presidential address on the occasion of the first session of the State Congress, Swami Ramananda Tirtha traced the history of the Freedom Movement launched by the Indian National Congress for the past fifty years and in the wake of the departure of the British from the Indian soil, the autocratic regimes which so far had been sustained by the alien power, found themselves face to face with their own people. On the attitude of the Princes who fondly hoped for Independence for their States after the withdrawal of the British Swamiji minced no words when he declared. The Princes must realise that their hostility towards the Indian Freedom Movement means hostility towards their own people. The people will resist this tooth and nail, no matter the cost. *The State's people cannot be*



Swamiji with Dr. Rājendra Prasad at the Khadi Gramodyog Bhandar, Sultan Bazar.



Swamiji and the trustees of the Hyderabad Khadi Samiti with Dr. Rayendra Prasad

isolated from the main stock. Race, language, tradition, history culture and aspirations, have been one, and the same, and no historical accidents can destroy this unity The people of those States who are forced to keep out of the Indian Union, have no other alternative but to come into conflict with their Governments and force them to fall in line with the rest of India That State which tries to keep out of the Indian Union, will have to run the risk of forfeiting the allegiance of its own people Such an isolationist move will recoil upon the State itself "

Independent Hyderabad—A Myth Exposed

Speaking on the question of the declaration of the so-called Independence of Hyderabad State, Swamiji bluntly warned the Government " This question of the Independence of isolated Hyderabad is engaging the attention of the whole country and the Hyderabad problem is developing into an All India issue The people of Hyderabad, under the banner of the Hyderabad State Congress, have demanded that Hyderabad State should first accede with the Indian Union, join the Constituent Assembly, and establish Responsible Government, under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam Is the Hyderabad Government going to declare its isolated independence inspite of the opposition of the people? If so, it is inviting a great trouble for itself! " How prophetic the words of Swamiji were, the later events have proved!

A Warning went Unheeded

To the protagonists of Pakistan in Hyderabad, Swamiji was equally vehement in his declaration ' So far as we are concerned, the question of Pakistan or Hindustan, complete or truncated, does not arise at all None of the causes that are advanced in support of

Pakistan are present in Hyderabad. On the contrary, all elements which tend towards unbreakable tie of unity with the rest of India, are present in Hyderabad After all, *what are the contents of the people here? They constitute three linguistic and cultural zones, viz Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak Their leanings will be naturally towards the fusion into the Indian Union of which these parts are bound to form inseparable entities! "* This is another prophetic declaration, which ultimately gave fillip to the people towards the successful disintegration of the once powerful Princely State of H. E. H. the Nizam, on November 1, 1956 Making an impassioned appeal to the Nizam to see the writing on the wall, Swamiji forewarned him " I wish to convey him (the Nizam) a depth of the feelings of the dumb-millions of the State Hyderabad is fast heading towards a crisis Suppression should not be the way of dealing with the basic demands of the people I would entreat the powers-that-be to concede the demands forth with If our demands are not met forthwith, I shall have no hesitation in commending to you total resistance Even if some of us perish, the rest will carry forward the torch of freedom "

Sowing Communal Seeds in Hyderabad Deployed

The Nizam was still adamant, and persisted with his stand by issuing of a Firman in 1946, on the issues raised by the Hyderabad State Congress Thereafter in 1947, the momentous session of the Hyderabad State Congress was held, when the State Congress once again asserted its position against the autocratic regime On July 4, 1947, Swamiji in the course of his speech, recalled the momentous session of the State Congress and how the Govern-

ment tried to create confusion in the minds of the public by their sowing of communal seeds in the political life of the State. Warning the people not to be side tracked by communal elements, Swamiji said: 'While it is indeed the responsibility of the Government to protect the people from these communal orgies and bloodshed, *I must ask the people to unflinchingly carry on their political movement and while defending themselves from these brutal onslaughts and communal frenzy, they should refuse to meet communalism with communalism.* Any such course would ruin the national cause and put an end to their political aspirations

Hyderabad—A Negation of Freedom

That an independent sovereign Hyderabad in the heart of India was a danger to Indian Freedom and a negation of Indian democracy was stressed by Swamiji at a public meeting held in Madras on December 7, 1947, and he expressed the confidence that the people of Hyderabad would make history with their blood. Referring to the designs of the Nizam for aggrandisement of territories, Swamiji said that he could not say if the Nizam or his Government had designs of expansion. But he had evidence to show that the Ittehadul Musalmeen which was the mouth piece of the Ruler had publicly advanced claims for Masulipatam, Ceded Districts and Berar and had attempted to purchase Portuguese Goa.

Standstill Agreement and After

With the signing of the Standstill Agreement between the Government of India and the Nizam's Government, Swamiji and his Working Committee colleagues were set at liberty and on the same day, (December 2 1947) Swamiji issued a statement reiterating that the struggle of the State Congress launched on August 7, 1947, would continue unabated till

the goal of the State Congress was achieved. Congratulating the people on their splendid response to the Congress' call, the Congress President said that they had proved their mettle in the historic struggle for emancipation. Peasants, labourers, women and students—all had contributed their mite. Students had created history for themselves which deserved all admiration. *It was gratifying to note that some Muslim citizens had also courted imprisonment by participating in the movement.* A large number of Panchayat Officers in the villages had tendered their resignations. Thousands had gone to jail. Hundreds had lost their lives and property worth lakhs of rupees had been looted burnt, and collective fines had been imposed. Every possible method had been employed to crush the movement. But the people were marching on undaunted and he was sure that they would do so till they had achieved their cherished goal of Responsible Government in Hyderabad, as an integral part of the Indian Dominion.

In conclusion, Swami Ramanaada Tirth said: 'I pay my homage to all those who have lost their lives during the campaign.'

Struggle gets All India Support

During his visit to New Delhi in the first and second weeks of December 1947, Swamiji met Mahatma Gandhi, Prime Minister Nehru, Deputy Premier Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and others in the States Ministry, and acquainted them with the latest situation in Hyderabad. Addressing a Press Conference in New Delhi on December 11, 1947, Swamiji stated that the historic struggle was going on in Hyderabad which had evoked great interest all over India and had drawn to itself the sympathy and support of all democratic elements in the country. Swamiji continued

Repressive Measures of the People's Reply

'The Indian Union Flag was the symbol of this struggle. The Government of Hyderabad declared that the flag of any foreign country could not be ceremoniously hoisted in Hyderabad. The people refused to consider the Union Flag as a foreign one, and they defied the ban. Thousands all over the State unfurled the Indian Union Flag and arrests were made in its wake. By gradual stages, the struggle took the shape of a non violent revolt of the people against the autocratic regime and today the peasants in villages, the labourers in factories, students in schools and colleges, and the common man in cities have made their voice felt. There is complete transformation in their mental outlook and the whole moral basis of the Government is removed. The whole people have risen like one man and have bravely faced all tribulations. Thousands have been sent to jail, hundreds have lost their lives, arson, loot and pillage have been freely carried, the military and the police force were let loose on the people. The Ittehadul Mussalmeen elements are also having fire play. But the people have offered stiff resistance and have stood erect. The struggle is continuing unabated.

On the release of Congress Leaders, Swamiji observed² Only less than 20 persons including some members of the Working Committee, have been released. There are still thousands in jail. There is no general amnesty. The release of a few of us seems to be a clever device to create a false impression on the people outside that the Government of Hyderabad are anxious to settle matters with the State Congress. There is no change of heart on the part of the Government.

²No definite official proposals for settlement were forwarded to me. At various stages

matters were discussed with me by a certain spokesman of the Government, even the last attempt made through an unofficial agency has come to nothing and the chances of a settlement are very meagre.

As regards the Standstill Agreement, Swamiji said. The stand taken by me during the talks was based on fundamentals. The Standstill Agreements reached between the Indian Dominion and the Hyderabad Government seemed to have postponed the issue of accession by one year. I demanded that the issue should be decided by the democratic verdict of the people by holding a plebiscite before the expiry of that period. It was contended that it was the Ruler who should decide the matter. *The more urgent question was that of Responsible Government. It was made quite plain to me that parity between Hindus and Muslims, both in the Executive and the Legislature was a condition precedent to the recognition of the principle of Responsible Government. No democrat could agree to this preposterous proposition. I doubt very much whether the Government are at all prepared to concede the principle of Responsible Government. Parity for a minority of twelve per cent turns the Responsible Government into a huge mockery. The talks have ended without any settlement being reached.*

The Standstill Agreement does not solve the problem of Hyderabad, though it has forced the Nizam to suspend his sovereignty in regard to the three subjects namely Defence, External Affairs, and Communication for one year. The question of accession remains unsolved. The people of Hyderabad are free to go their own way and forge sanctions to see that Hyderabad enter the Indian Union. **A Fascist Regime is a Menace to India**

The problem of Hyderabad is an All-India

issue A fascist undemocratic Hyderabad in the heart of India is a menace to Indian democracy and freedom The slavery of sixteen million people of Hyderabad makes the Indian freedom incomplete The problem of Hyderabad is not one affecting the destiny of the people of Hyderabad alone but that of the entire people of India The issues at stake are nation wide The people of Hyderabad are facing heavy odds bravely There is a grim determination to be free The struggle for freedom will take long and rapid strides in months to come the whole nation has lent its moral support to the cause we are sure to win

Economic Emancipation Creed of Congress

Swami Ramananda Tirtha emphasised that the struggle in Hyderabad was non-communal in character It was by accident of circumstances that a large section of one community was identified with the Ruler *The State Congress had made it clear that the type of Responsible Government which it visualised, would be one which would give no room for any type of exploitation It had demanded abolition of the Jagirdari and Zamindari systems and under Responsible Government, they would be abolished—and nationalisation of all key industries That way alone lay the economic betterment of the masses Hindus and Muslims* Swamiji declared

He had told the Government of India that any ammunition or arms supplied to the Hyderabad Government was likely to be used against the people's movement Before they supplied any arms they should take care to see that they were not used against the people

Referring to the reforms announced in Hyderabad Swami Ramananda Tirtha said that today it was difficult for the Government

of Hyderabad to find any interim ministry worth the name which carried weight with the people The average man had lost all faith in the present regime

No Compromise on Fundamental Issues

Swami Ramananda Tirtha declared in Bombay on December 14 1947 that the recent Standstill Agreement between the Government of India and the Nizam's Government did not bind the State Congress to come to terms with the Nizam by compromising on their fundamental and basic issues namely accession to the Indian Union and establishment of full Self-Government in the State

Swami Ramananda Tirtha said that the only solution of the Hyderabad problem which still loomed large on the horizon of free India was the acceptance by the Nizam of the two basic demands of the people and the settlement with their accredited representatives

Swamiji during the course of his address declared We shall keep the flag of the Indian Union—our flag of liberty—high on the pedestal and with a spirit of supreme self sacrifice We are prepared to lay down our lives in the freedom struggle to establish a democratic government responsible to popular will

Last phase of Struggle begins

After his triumphant tour of the country immediately on his return to Hyderabad from Bombay on 22nd January 1948 Swamiji announced that the non violent struggle of the Hyderabad State Congress will continue unabated

Referring to the negotiations for the formation of an Interim Ministry in the State after his release from the jail Swami Ramananda Tirtha said that he had placed before the Nizam's Government the fundamental minimum demands of the State Congress The State

Congress, he added, 'is always ready for peaceful solution of the whole problem and has responded to all genuine efforts made in this direction. At the same time, it is conscious of its own duty and has decided to follow the path of suffering and sacrifice, being confident of ultimate success, because of its just and righteous cause' "

From the aerodrome, Swami Ramananda Tirtha drove to Mr K M Munshi's residence at Bolarum on 22nd January 1948, before proceeding to the city.

Addressing a large number of people who had gathered to meet him at Sultan Bazar (Hyderabad) Swami Ramananda Tirtha asserted it is not the time for slogans but it is the time for action. The State Congress programme would be placed before the public in due course '.

Problem Remains Unsolved

It is interesting to recall here the statement issued by Swami before he left Bombay for Hyderabad, where his arrest again became due any moment. Swami then said

Events have come in rapid succession since my release from Jail on November 30 last, and it took seven weeks' time for me to understand their real import and significance and to arrive at certain conclusions. The complexities of the fast changing situation were such that everything had to be carefully weighed and rightly assessed. People will, therefore, bear with me for the delay in deciding the further course of action.

'The abortive efforts made by the Government to settle matters with the Hyderabad State Congress are now well known. Accession to the Indian Union and the establishment of full responsible government, which formed the basic demands of the State Congress, were not

squarely met. At every stage, proposals changed. They passed from hand to hand. There was so much of uncertainty about the whole affair that nothing substantial could come about.

'The Standstill Agreement has come. The so-called Interim Ministry has been installed. Agents-General have been stationed in Hyderabad and Delhi. Even then the problem remains unsolved.

'The new Ministry has betrayed utter lack of statesmanship in dealing with affairs in the State, and in the nature of things it could not be otherwise. His Exalted Highness seems to suffer under vacillation. The situation allround is fast deteriorating. Big decisions, which alone can meet the requirements of the moment, have to be taken. I have waited to see if a correct line was being pursued. I regret no such thing has happened, and I am coming back to Hyderabad once more to face the ordeal of the non-violent struggle launched by the State Congress.

With this open declaration, Swami courted arrest once again, till he was released after the successful operation of the Police Action on September 18, 1948.

Liberation of Hyderabad

Simultaneously with the capitulation of the Nizam, Swami Ramaoda Tirth, President of the Hyderabad State Congress, was released from the Hyderabad Central Jail. The fact was significant. Immediately after his release, he went round the city, encouraged the people and sent out his hearty congratulations to the Prime Minister and the Commander of the Armed Forces. In a moving tone, he paid his 'tearful' homage to the thousands of martyrs who paid the highest price of freedom, with their lives. "Indian Freedom is complete today, as the people of Hyderabad have been liberated.

men during that period of the struggle was sacrifice and suffering. Hundreds and thousands have laid down their lives in achieving this freedom. The post-freedom period has left a lacuna in the objective. There is no common purpose which has been deeply implanted and clearly stated to the people. Vague generalisation about Sarvodaya and lip sympathy for Gandhian ideals are in evidence here, there and everywhere. The non-violence of Mahatmaji has been reduced to the absence of physical injury only and is being oft sounded by those who are within the folds of the Congress and are sucking the blood of the people through various forms of exploitation in the economic domain. It suits them today to forget that non-violence eschews from human life all forms of exploitation.

A Vehicle of Power

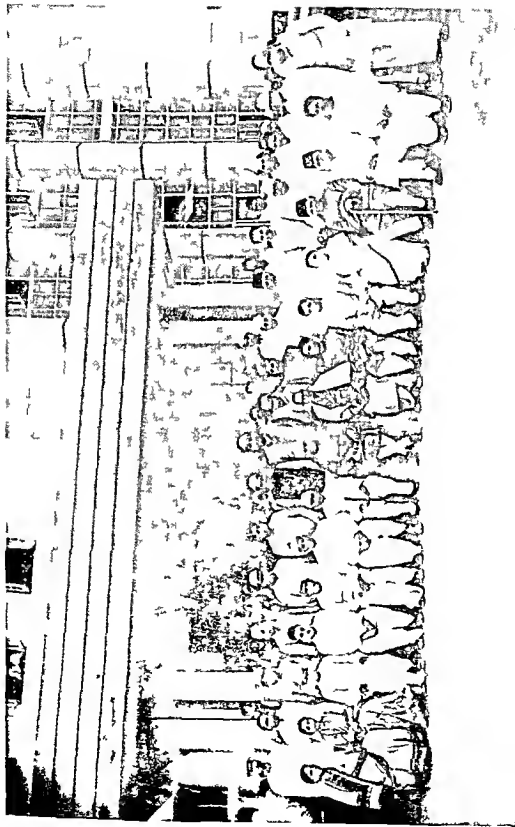
Though this needs more clarification and could be interpreted so as to appeal to the popular mind, every attempt is being made to sabotage it. *The Congress being a vehicle through which the power is operating, is being handled and captured by such elements who under the name of conservation and consolidation, are only working for an order which would benefit the few at the cost of the many. The main contents of the Congress organisation and the Gandhian spirit which has permeated it*

and blood for over half a century, are offering suggestions varied in their nature, some time diametrically opposed. We have to analyse all these, in the light of the present experiences and see which of them suit us best. An earnest effort to find out the correct solution will be made in these columns so that the Congress may be relieved of the great drain which is being made upon it.

"It is now high time that supreme effort is made by all the wellwishers of this august body to replenish it so that the young blood may not flow into the defections and new ones are drawn towards it. Any unrealistic approach in this connection will ultimately fail and will result only in greater frustration and final disillusionment. It is more out of a sense of anxiety that I am impelled to do the duty which my conscience has prompted me to do. It is a crucial moment in the annals of the people's organisation and a right step at the given moment is the direct necessity—"

In his Second Series, Swamiji Wrote thus

Mahatmaji, just before his demise had formulated a plan to transform the Congress into a body of workers called *Loka-Sera Sangh*. The main idea underlying the change was to divest the organisation of allmania for power and investing it with the task of building up



Swamiji and Panditji with the members of the reception Committee Nana! Nagar Session of
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The sovereignty of the people has been asserted, and it is the people of Hyderabad who will decide its future. Swamiji said in his historic message, and added 'The past fourteen months have witnessed a historic struggle of a brave people for achieving their democratic ideals and asserting their oneness with the rest of India. We had to pass through untold sufferings at the hands of a callous regime. I am happy that we have faced all ordeals with a stout heart and have come out successful. The State Congress has more than fulfilled the task entrusted to it.' In a touching reference to the cross section of the people who participated in the struggle, Swamiji observed "*Words are too poor to express my feelings for the thousands who have laid down their lives—peasants, students, women and workers. I pay tearful homage to them.*"

Perhaps one of the best last major speeches delivered by Swamiji as the President of the Hyderabad State Congress was on December 10, 1948, in Hyderabad. He declared while addressing a mammoth gathering of over 50,000 people "*The victory of the State Congress is neither the victory of the Hindus, nor the defeat of the Muslims. It is the triumph of democracy over autocracy, of justice over injustice, and of humanity over barbarity.*" Speaking about the future, Swamiji said 'Autocracy cannot do away the appalling poverty of the people. Only people's government can do that. The State Congress has thrown open its doors for the progressive elements in the State irrespective of caste and creed. While speaking on the future programme of the State Congress, Swamiji said that political freedom cannot and should not be an end in itself. It was only a means to achieve socio-economic freedom of the masses.

While before the dawn of Independence in Hyderabad, Swamiji's speeches merely emphasised the political future for Hyderabad his speeches after Hyderabad acceded with Indian Union, rightly emphasised the responsibilities that flow from the freedom towards making our people economically better. In one of his speeches at Jadcharla on June 5, 1949 Swamiji gave out his mind thus: 'Political liberty carries no meaning, if it is not accompanied by economic equality. In itself political independence is incomplete, and insufficient. We see the people in Hyderabad muddled in poverty and misery. Kisans are lean and thin, emaciated, illnourished and poverty-stricken. Their lot must be improved if our march towards freedom has any sense.

We are marching towards light, from darkness. But this means happiness of the poor people. Abolition of poverty is the ultimate goal of democracy."

On 29th June 1949, Swamiji, as the President of the State Congress, made another historic statement, while delivering his presidential address at the meeting of the All-Hyderabad Congress Committee at Secunderabad, referred to the future of the State, and said '*Hyderabad would be merged with India, and there would be no Ruler. Whether it is integration or disintegration, one thing is certain and definite, namely, that there would be no Ruler.*'

Swamiji spoke the language of the people and attracted the attention of thousands and lakhs of people wherever he went. His words went straight into the hearts of the common men because he was speaking for them. It is indeed difficult to bring about in one volume all the speeches made by Swamiji, as each one of them, remains historic and significant, during the period they were made.

Swamiji's Writings

So far, as the President of the Hyderabad State Congress, the people came to know Swamiji as a great orator, a passionate lover of freedom, and as a gallant captain, who led his team most gallantly, under conditions which were beyond the control of any authority, not to speak of the autocratic regime itself, which wootonly brought about this state of affairs. In the month of November 1949, Hyderabad atlast signed the Instrument of Accession and the Nizam subsequently issued a *Firman* paving the way for Hyderabad to take the rightful place in the Nation's Parliament. And Swamiji welcoming the *Firman*, said "In the nature of things, the accesstoo had to be provisional one and the Nizam has done well in acting within the limitatooos which compact situations had brought about." And, almost immediately, Swami Ramananda Tirtha, withdrew his candidature for the Presideotship of the State Congress in December 1949, to be succeeded by Sri D G Bindu.

The period between December 1949 and April 1950, were periods for self-introspection for Swamiji himself, as a result of which, Swamiji decided to edit an English Weekly of his own known as 'The Vision'. It made its appearance on April 3, 1950. From then onwards, Swamiji made his impact on the intellectual section of the society for his simple and straightforward analysis of the various problems, be it Kashmir, land reforms, revitalisation of the Congress, or even the Osmaoia University. These writings still give ooe much food for thought.

Swamiji's writings need no prefaces nor explanatory notes. In fairness to the problems and the views expressed by Swamiji, the extracts of his writings are being reproduced here from

the file of 'The Vision', for the benefit of the readers. To begin with the subject of "Revitalisation of the Congress", which Swamiji serialised in eight instalments in 'The Vision', from April 3, 1950 to May 29, 1950, takes a pride of place here in the context of the experiment that is being made at the highest levels, through the Kamaraj Plan.

Towards Revitalisation of the Congress

'The Congress organisation all over the country is suffering from interaal contraditooos and consequent weakness. Apparently the conflict revolves round a few personalities but in ultimate analysis, it will be discovered that the cleavage is due to the variatooos in approaches and attitudes which come out of a basic view of affairs which one is inclined to take. Even limiting oneself to the present, we can see that those who wish to see a slow pace of progress and more of consolidation would deal with matters in ooe way while those who stand for basic chaoges would adopt a different attitude. On keener observatioo, it will be found that the cracks and rifts in the Congress orgaoisation are merely reflectooos of the various trends - social and economic, that are growing in the body - politic of India of the present day.

'The doors of the Congress are open for all. In pre-Freedom period, one and all were inspired with the common object of liberating India from the bondage of the foreigner. This was the only motive force which drew nation's energy and harnessed it to the fullest extent. There was no element of contradiction or contrast either in the objective or the way to achieve it and therefore, the Congress organisation, inspite of its heterogenous character, withstood all depraadations and grew from strength to strength. *The test for the Congress-*

men during that period of the struggle was sacrifice and suffering. Hundreds and thousands have laid down their lives in achieving this freedom. The post-freedom period has left a lacuna in the objective. There is no common purpose which has been deeply implanted and clearly stated to the people. Vague generalisation about Sarvodaya and lip sympathy for Gandhian ideals are in evidence here, there and everywhere. The non-violence of Mahatmaji has been reduced to the absence of physical injury only and is being oft sounded by those who are within the folds of the Congress and are sucking the blood of the people through various forms of exploitation in the economic domain. It suits them today to forget that non-violence eschews from human life all forms of exploitation.

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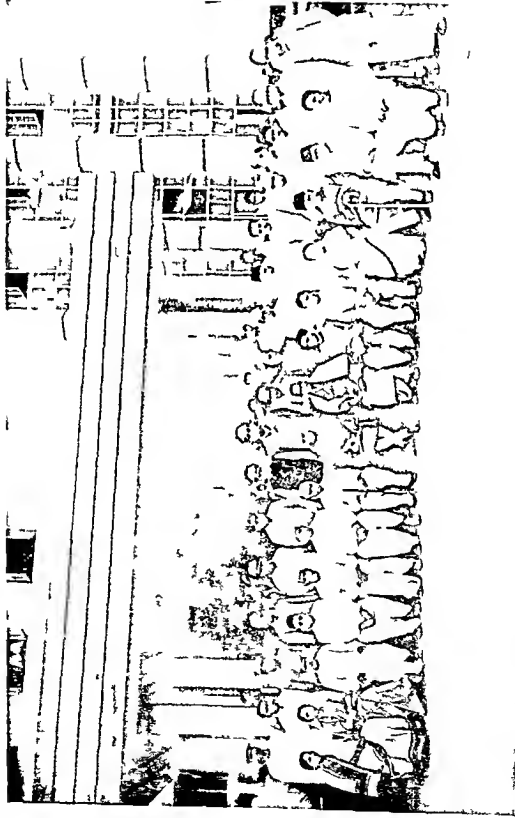
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"Mahatmaji, just before his demise had formulated a plan to transform the Congress into a body of workers called *Loka-Sewa Sangh*. The main idea underlying the change was to divert the organisation of all means for power and investing it with the task of building up



Swamiji and Panditji with the members of the reception Committee, Nana! Nagar Session of
All India Congress 1953



Swamiji addressing the open Session of the
Hyderabad State Congress



Swamiji with Jagananna, K. S. P. and M. P. in Hyderabad

would guide and offer checks to the Government and at the same time be a motive force to drive the people to the desired goal. It was the people and not the administrators that were the mainstay of the new creation. The moral plane of the people, if raised, could alone be a proof against the democratisation which was apt to overtake those entrusted with the task of carrying on the administration. So the parliamentary wing could be an independent party and the Congress was to function only as a non-parliamentary organisation casting the people's life into new moulds so that true democracy could be evolved by making people self-reliable, by infusing in them the spirit of cooperative life based on love and brotherhood.

Towards Reorientation

It was an attempt to effect reorientation in the entire life of the nation. Mahatma saw no future for the Congress unless it changed its character basically. Otherwise with conflicting economic interests within its fold it would lose its dynamism, and would be only a wrestling ground for various sections to test the trial of strength and make it an arena where all sorts of baser traits could be roused in order to capture and hold on to power. *This was more particularly so when we remember that the common ideal had been fulfilled and people had not before them a clear vision of the future, a corresponding organisation trimmed to work for that ideal with necessary contents, fit to execute the task. There must be complete unison in the ideal, the organisation and those who work for it. Then alone, new task could be achieved in some measure. Otherwise only frustration would be evident.*

To frustrate this end, the best amongst the Congress should have been kept out of the administration. But the process was reversed.

"The cream of the Congress organisation was entrusted with the task of carrying on the administration and the organisation was left to be handled by those who were less fitted for the task though they were also persons of suffering and sacrifice with an equally proud record of service of the nation. *The immediate task before the country was that of establishing the newly-won freedom and in this process of stabilisation and conservation, the organisational aspect of the Congress was almost lost sight of.* Nobody could be blamed for this state of affairs. But reality must be understood. Naturally all glamour centred round the Parliament, legislatures and administration. The Congress was the repository of this power and rapidly it changed itself into a battle-field of warring sections. There was general deterioration in its ranks.

"*On the other hand, the services and the army were considered to be the main pillars of the nation. They alone could save the country at such a critical stage and these alone had the necessary capacity to reconstruct India on new lines. It was, therefore, that those who had played anti-freedom role in the past were considered to be the saviours today.* It was a sad irony of fate! But all the same it is a fact which none of us can deny. The Congress organisation lost its initiative and soon became an appendage to the administration. *It was the administrator who told what the organisation should do and not the organisation which moulded and shaped the administrator!* The result was that the top lost touch with the base and a vacuum, terrible in its consequences, has been created between the two. Some are crying aloud to put in efforts to improve this state of affairs. But their voice is very feeble at the present moment and who knows whether it would prove effective at all?

"I have tried to move in this direction in my own humble way. I have found that though the realisation is there, still the necessary effort is lacking. Perhaps the ever-growing complexity of the problems facing the country do not leave any scope for the leaders to devote themselves to this task. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who alone could have done it, cannot be spared for this task. Who else would do this? It is a big question mark."

In conducting the affairs of the Hyderabad State Congress in post-freedom period, I had to face certain piquant situations. Various problems were created in rapid succession and few of us had the time to understand them much less to assess them correctly. I have viewed them only as a natural phenomenon which is more or less a common feature here, there, and everywhere, in the country. There is something amiss and it has to be found out. A thorough heart-searching and introspective effort must be made if the situation is to improve.

During the past twelve months or so I had the privilege of discussing the question of revitalisation of the Congress with eminent Indian leaders. I did so because I felt that such efforts have to be made on all-India plane. No local effort could be sustained for long if there was no corresponding change at the top. I have found that some feel that the Congress organisation has outlived its utility. Others are of the opinion that the task of improving it is well nigh impossible because those who could do so have no time to spare. There are a few who feel that efforts must continue to be made to effect the necessary reorientation and they should wait and work in that direction. The Congress organisation could still have the dynamism and will be a fit

instrument to lead the people in the task ahead."

Swamiji continuing the series on the congress role after Freedom wrote -

"The Congress organisation having concentrated its attention and energy on the political struggle, confined itself to the main, to what came to be called, the Parliamentary programme, and the Congress elections. With the achievement of Political liberty, there was no question of a fight or Satyagraha. That work of the Congress is not an end. The Congress today is in office and is running the administration. It has not genuinely accepted the socio-economic programme of Gandhiji for the establishment of equalitarian society. The Congress Governments are pledged to continuity, consolidation and conservation. The old administrative machinery could be hardly a fit instrument to work for the establishment of equalitarian society. *A Czarist secretariat could hardly be expected to work for the Bolshevik revolution and carry on its programme.* Therefore the Congress Governments are mainly pre-occupied with carrying on the governance of the country strongly and efficiently without tampering with the ideological basis on which society has been functioning upto now and they have to toe the line of conservative reform. The function of the Congress is now limited to only organising its annual elections and carry on the parliamentary programme. The Congress has come to be an electoral machinery of the party-in-power today and its rehabilitation and reconstruction lie in that direction only. Therefore it is natural that the persons at the head of the administration are thinking in terms of making it the best instrument for a parliamentary and electioneering function. If this is to be done the Congress must revise, modify

and if need be, abandon the programme and policies that it had kept before itself and the nation prior to the attainment political liberty. There must be in these matters a thorough reorientation. The new policies and programmes must be in keeping with what is possible in accomplishment in office.

The programmes naturally will have to be formulated in the light of the election manifestoes and they should not be in excess of what could be accomplished within a reasonable time. Today what happens is that the policies and programmes pursued by Congress Governments have but slight relation to the aims and objects and the general policies as enunciated in Congress resolutions. This has led to conflict between the organisation and the Government. It has also led to a clash between the Centre and Provinces. The Centre wants a 'go slow' process, and Provinces wish to hasten the pace. This conflict creates confusion in the public mind about aims and direction of the policies as pursued after Independence.

"There is absence of united leadership. The head of the Government is the Leader of the Party but the Congress President of today has been relegated to a position which has lost all its glamour and prestige. Power and responsibility must be united. How can the Congress President be held responsible for what the Prime Minister does? Or how can he be expected to justify whatever the head of the Government has done which has, often times, not secured his approval, nor he may know about it at all. The Congress President, if he is strong comes in conflict, otherwise he has to suppress himself and become a mere rubber-stamp. This disparity must terminate. Today the Prime Minister is the head of the State. If the two positions are combined, unnecessary confusion

will be avoided. This will bring about the necessary unity in the leadership.

To summarise, then the Congress must frankly accept the position of a democratic party. It must function as such. To that end, it must make them conform to a certain extent to what is possible of accomplishment by the Government. It should have a united leadership which should be the same in the organisation and the Government. It must create conventions by which its members cannot interfere with the day-to-day administration of public offices. This way lies the reform of a truncated Congress. The Congress can no more be a national organisation, embracing all patriotic groups and parties, following divergent ideas and ideologies. It also cannot be an organisation committed to a revolutionary and equalitarian programme of socio-economic reconstruction, which, the Governments have already abandoned, in practice, whatever lip service they may render to it.

Adverting to the Sarvodaya Plan and the Congress role in it Swamiji wrote

The Indian National Congress being essentially a political body, cannot convert itself into a purely non-political organisation, having nothing to do with Parliamentary activities. The bifurcation of the Parliamentary and constructive activities, has resulted in isolating one school of thought from the other, and the total constructive energy has not only suffered, but there has been a lack of understanding between the two sections. This divergence should be minimised, and constructive workers also must take up to Parliamentary activities, otherwise, Parliamentary programme will be vitiated and it will have no direction.

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"If a definite ideal is to be achieved those who follow a particular ideology, must take

upon themselves Governmental functions and see that the ideological plane is kept up. In that case the Congress organisation will have to retain its mass character and an attempt will have to be made to blend in one, Parliamentary and constructive programmes. But how to assure that those who take up Parliamentary programme will follow the ideological line?

In order to achieve this one of the eminent leaders in a talk suggested that a practical shape to the Sarvodaya ideal will have to be given and all those who occupy any responsible position shall have to satisfy a minimum test of putting that ideal into practice in their own personal life and through a quantum of work they would execute. How and when to do this is a matter for consideration.

The present constitution of the Indian National Congress envisages a different category of membership called effective membership. This is an attempt to effect a compromise between the various suggestions made so far. A quantum of work was essential for entitling a person to have a potential voice in the organisation. But on the very first occasion of enrolment it was found to be full of fraud and the process had to be abandoned in order to prevent degradation and degeneration of the Congress organisation. The Congress Working Committee had to summon a special session of the AICC and get an amendment passed. Congress Committees which were to pass necessary certificates employed all surreptitious methods and such membership swelled into lakhs.

It is obvious that such a method will fail to put new life into the organisation. It is a superficial remedy. Something more effective and vital is needed to raise the moral plane of

the Congress organisation. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has also something to say in this regard. The gist of the speech which has been included in the report of the First Sammelan of Sarvodaya.

Writing about the absence of necessary inspiration within the Party which has weakened the Congress today, Swamiji in his last series VIII on the revitalisation of the Congress has called for a new programme of action and pleaded for working for its idealism.

New Programme Wanted

There is no denying the fact that the present state of affairs cannot continue long. Everyone who is honest to himself will have to admit that there is no fixity of ideal in the Congress. It has to draw a clear line and indicate the way in unmistakable terms which it would like to follow. This can be either the Sarvodaya ideal and whole Congress organisation as well as the administration will have to change itself to that end because Congress happens to be the ruling power or it will have to take up a Socialistic ideal and shape accordingly.

If neither of the two is possible it will be very difficult for the organisation to create an order of things which can lead to a society of our dreams. The various Planning Commissions and Committees have got a difficult job to do in view of the uncertainties of the policies so far adopted. Those in the organisation upon whom the responsibility of drawing in the latent energy rests have to see that the necessary inspiration is given. The absence of such efforts is throwing out a large number of workers from the orbit of Congress organisation and they are taking up to constructive activities thus isolating themselves from the parent organisation. The Congress if it cannot stop this process will lose its vitality. It may win the

next general elections, but it will not make real headway in the direction of a new age

A Practical Line Wanted

The first and foremost thing is that everyone of us should be sincere in what we say. If we believe in Sarvodaya ideal, if the Congress really wants to achieve the ideal of Cooperative Commonwealth, it is necessary that every unit of the organisation must be conscious of the task and must shape the life after the same pattern. I believe that unless this mental outlook is cultivated by a definite process, laid down and strictly adhered to, no progress on the lines desired, could be expected. I have been greatly perturbed by the convulsions which the Congress organisation is receiving here and elsewhere. Will it do for us to say simply that Congress must improve or make efforts actually to do so? In the absence of any definite line, chalked out by the High Command the only course left is to revitalise oneself on right lines, consistent with the ideal in view and build up the strength in that direction and wait till a concerted and well-defined line is given by the organisation, as a whole.

That is what I have been suggesting to the workers and in many parts during the past two months, wherever I have gone, I have tried to put workers into action and suggested to them to build up the tendency of the pattern which they hold dear to their hearts. The present seems to be a period of wait and see, and contributing our own mite in hastening the process which one considers to be right. This line may not satisfy all. But that is a practical line.

The formulation of an economic plan, wedded to a certain ideal does not seem to be a practical proposition in the near future. *The Government is faced with a dilemma. As a*

representative of the Congress, it has to be loyal to the ideal of the organisation and as a Government, it has to do certain tasks which do mean a deviation from the line which leads to the ideal. The deviation on the Governmental plane has meant a deviation from the line leading to the ideal to something which has no direction and which has resulted in drawing power-mongers and opportunists in a large measure into the Congress organisation. It has sapped the inner strength and built up a hollow shell without any kernel in it. The Government has its own limitations. If the organisation volunteers itself to work within those limitations only, it will have to convert itself sooner or later into a party in the limited sense and not an organisation of the type, which we have so far envisaged. Or else there must be definite line of demarcation between the Congress Government and the Congress organisation. But if this is not possible and practical the only alternative is to convert the Congress into a party and rest content with that. The party can run the Government of the country.

A Novel Suggestion, But — —

A suggestion has often been made that those who have devoted themselves to constructive activities, enunciated by Gandhiji, must actively participate in the Congress activities and must help to shape it after the Sarvodaya ideal. The suggestion is a good one but a process in the direction must be envisaged. Unless this line is encouraged, we do not think that the Constructive workers will come into the Congress organisation as active workers. I have tried to discuss this matter with a number of Constructive workers. They somehow feel unhappy over the whole situation. A question can be posed to them. After all, what is the use of feeling unhappy? One must come for-

ward to help the situation to some extent, according to one's own pattern, and strengthen those who are trying to revitalise the Congress. But this argument has yet not impressed these workers.

"At present I have decided to content myself with offering suggestions and pleading with those who can deliver the goods to make the necessary reorientation. At the same time, I will continue the work of revitalising the individual workers to the best extent I can. So, whatever is lacking collectively, may to some extent be made up individually. In the meanwhile, every Congressman should continue where he is, and try his best to put greater energy and more substantial work, free from power - politics. But this depends upon the choice which everyone of us makes."

The Riddle of Hyderabad

The Hyderabad State which was formerly the centre of gravitation of the British power in India, is today a centre of intrigues, with the rank communal-feudal reaction at the helm of affairs, at its focal point. *Till such time as the Nizam continues to have a place in Hyderabad's administration, till such time as Hyderabad is not completely disintegrated, it has no future,* thus observed Swami Ramananda Tirtha, former President of the Hyderabad State Congress addressing a largely attended meeting at Poona on May 6, 1950, in connection with the Spring Lectures Series there. Sri Anna Saheb Sabasrabuddhe of Maharashtra Seva Sangh, presided.

Earlier, Sri Sahasrabuddhe expressed his pleasure to the assembled for having given the opportunity to know the currents and cross-currents in Hyderabad politics, from one, who had held aloft the banner of freedom of relentless struggle of the people in Hyderabad for the

last twelve years. "The non-Hyderabadis," he said, 'are ever anxious to know the real picture of Hyderabad and its intricacies, because the problem is as vital to the whole nation, as it is to those who are directly concerned with it'.

Disintegrate Hyderabad State

Swami Ramananda Tirtha speaking on "Riddle of Hyderabad, declared in unambiguous terms that disintegration was the only solution to solve the intricacies of Hyderabad problem. "I have been maintaining along", said Swamiji, 'that the future of Hyderabad lies in its being disintegrated. The Nizamabad session of the Hyderabad State Congress has also taken the unanimous decision in this respect. *The question of disintegration of Hyderabad should not be kept in suspense even though there is some delay in the formation of linguistic provinces, which is inevitable. There can be no difficulty in amalgamating the eight districts of Telengana in the adjoining Madras Province, and the rest in the Bombay Province.* The people of Hyderabad are determined to see that their objective is fulfilled, in spite of the conspiracies hatched up by the reactionary-feudal section to sabotage their movement. The people therefore are going ahead, knowing fully well that they have to achieve much even now. They are not at rest and cannot afford to be'.

The Last Battle

Before speaking about the present state of conditions prevalent in Hyderabad, Swamiji narrates the history of the people's struggle in Hyderabad from the birth of the State Congress to the successful Police Action against the fascist-cum-communal regime. The history of the problem of Hyderabad takes its course he said, when the British made it their base of

Imperialism and also a centre of communal-fascist reaction, and observed that the fight that was fought on the soil of Hyderabad was the last battle of freedom in India and no conscious and courageous son did give up the long-drawn out fight till the last fort cracked up

Laik Ali's overtures Recalled

Swamiji dealing with the nature of the struggle recalled an interesting incident, when Mr. Laik Ali, the then Prime Minister of Hyderabad, approached him and tried to influence him to give up the demand of "Accession", and "integration" of Hyderabad with India. "Mr. Laik Ali," he said, "was prepared to concede the demand of democratisation of the State but, was not prepared for the idea of Hyderabad's accession to India. That was the crux of the problem. The Hyderabad riddle was of an all-India nature, Its future closely linked with rest of India. We, therefore, knew the consequences we had to face as a result of our uncompromising stand on this vital question of 'accession'. After knowing the consequences to follow, we realised that we would not win the battle of freedom all alone. Long before in July 1949, I had informed responsible quarters that the Hyderabad problem would not be solved unless the armed forces of India intervene. The Military entered the State on 13th September 1948

Swamiji while paying glowing tributes to the freedom-fighters in Hyderabad, made a particular reference to the sacrifices of the rural population

The After-effects

Turning to the question of after-effects of Police Action, Swamiji asserted that it was only after making a basic and total change in

the administration that one could say that the democratisation was complete and successful. Continuing, he said "there are internal differences and rifts in the political organisations everywhere, but that did not affect the people's representatives in taking the reins of administration. But, strangely in Hyderabad, at least the power was deprived to the people's representatives as yet. Though there may have been differences here and there, that cannot be an excuse for not democratising the administration of the State.

Referring to the recent move of the proposed association of popular elements with the administration, he said that a decision had been reached to nominate four Congress Ministers in the Vellodi Cabinet. The Cabinet, thus formed, as per reports, was not going to be diarchy, but would function on the principle of collective responsibility

The Communist Menace

Adverting to the Communist problem, Swamiji stated 'there are basic reasons behind the fact that even after two years' of Police Action, the Communist movement in the two districts has not yet been suppressed, as it should have been. The approach to such a problem was not done by introducing radical reforms, but only military measures were put into operation. To cite an example, in Mahboobabad Taluka of Warangal district, there is one Zamindar with thousands of acres of land at his disposal and to add to this, he exercises unrestrained authority as a Zamindar, landowner and what not! *Such a deep exploitation by the Zamindars furnished a fine soil to Communists to reap the harvests.* The State Congress suggested Agrarian Reforms of a fundamental character, as, mere military measures cannot root out the Communist

ward to help the situation to some extent, according to one's own pattern, and strengthen those who are trying to revitalise the Congress. But this argument has yet not impressed these workers.

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Swami with Shyam Prashad Mukherjee and others.



Swami with Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan and Dr. Meikote, etc
discussing Hyderabad problem in 1947

menace I am certain that if the Government of India follows a progressive policy, then alone we can be able to challenge the Communist menace in the country and, if this is not done one will not be in a position to forecast the future. The people have come to realise that what the Communists do is not of a permanent nature. As a result many are drifting away from them but there is enough terror prevailing there, on account of the increasing murders. Only during the last 18 to 20 months as many as three hundred and fifty Congress workers have been done to death.

Continuing further he said. Whilst this is so, the conspiracies of the feudal interests has landed the many genuine Congress workers in jails. In this way, the Congress is sandwiched between the two prongs and yet it has to work in such conditions.

That Mr. Laik Ali former Premier of Hyderabad should easily escape from Hyderabad even after about a period of two years administration of our own meant that all was not well. He said that Hyderabad today was the centre of intrigues and conspiracies by the reactionaries which should not be allowed to continue any longer. There was a definite change in the make up of the people and they would not give in till the State of Hyderabad was disintegrated. Swamiji declared.

Almost immediately after this famous Poona speech Swamiji in his Political Note on Hyderabad wrote in The Vision which makes an interesting reading even today Political Stalemate in Hyderabad.

Politics in Hyderabad is shaping itself much differently from what was expected generally. The expected association has not yet come. Reports have emanated to say that the changes will be expected in the month of June. The

coldness with which the announcement of the M Ps has been received is marked. It shows the reactions of the general mind. They do not feel enthused over it. Politically conscious sections have been watching the developments with a critical bent. The association of Congressmen with the administration is being viewed in the background of the list of M Ps. Surmises and speculations have made matters more confounded. Individuals are being tossed up and down for no fault of theirs, and various aspersions are being cast in this regard. Soon this period of uncertainty will end and the matters will settle down in due course of time.

'Communal and sectional feelings are being roused by interested sections amongst the ignorant masses in the districts. The power that is coming has given an impetus to these forces. Though the indefinite postponement of the elections to the Constituent Assembly has poured cold water on the frenzy, still the little that is being offered has in some measure enlivened such elements.

The Shetkari and Kamkari Paksha (The Workers & Peasants Party) of Marathwada which had sustained itself on this communal feeling has received a hard hit at the hands of the Government. Naturally it has miserably dwindled as is the case with all those forces which have a negative approach to the problems of the day.

Press reports go to show that the Committee appointed by Nanded Convention of resigned Congressmen is meeting by the end of this month to decide the future course finally. The talks which some of them had with the Socialist leader Sjt. Jai Prakash Narayan must have given them an insight into the fundamental approach of the Socialist Party to the National problems. The decision of the

Committee is being awaited and what impact on the political life of the people of Hyderabad it will have is to be seen

The Communist Menace In Hyderabad

Adverting to the Communist menace, Swamiji in his forthright article, wrote on its genesis and the remedy, and suggested radical reforms to meet the challenge from within

"The Communist menace in Hyderabad has become an all-India problem, for sometime past. It has caused great headache to the local administration and has sufficiently affected the rural economy of the two districts of Warangal and Nalgonda in Telengana area of Hyderabad State. The reports of its set-back and recrudescence alternately reach us and one is bewildered at the conflicting accounts emanating from these parts, from time to time. I have tried often times, to go into these parts and have talked to several peasants and Congress workers, have observed things at close quarters, as a servant of the people and have tried to understand the genesis of the malady and the remedy to remove it. I am enumerating in this article a few suggestions, which would help the workers, the people, and the administration, in wiping out the subversive and anti-national elements. The Communist Party of India having adopted violent, disruptive and subversive methods has made itself repugnant to all sober-thinking elements and has brought ruin upon itself and the country at large. The Communist movement can not be isolated and has to be viewed as a whole. Leaving aside the question of other parts of India of which I have meagre knowledge I wish to limit the observations to what is happening in Hyderabad.

The basic Cause

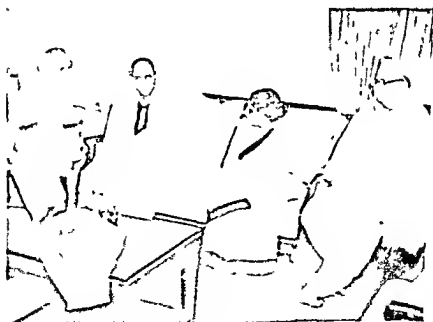
The basic cause of the growth of Communist influence is to be found in the social and

economic structure in Telengana parts generally, and in two districts of Warangal and Nalgonda particularly. The Zamindari and Jagirdari systems, the Deshmukhs and Patel Patwaris, barring individuals, who may not have followed the conventional callous methods are the root cause which has given rise to the Communist influence, which thrived on the discontent of the millions of the exploited peasantry of these parts. A casual visit to any village in these parts will convince any stranger as to the dire poverty which is visible in whatsoever concerns the life of the people. *The Deshmukh is a Jagirdar, a Zamindar, a money-lender and in a limited sense, a Watandar, having certain powers in some cases, all at the same time. All told, the exploitation is of the most virulent type and the poverty and suppression shudders one who has an eye to see and heart to feel.* Obviously the Communist has found an easy room in the hearts of the people who had to pass a torturous life from generations. A band of young intelligent workers with a well-knit programme and uniform policy penetrated into the masses and created a strong base for the Communist Party of India. They along with their unit in Andhra Parts of Madras Province, have earned on an intense activity which has brought about the present state of affairs in this Southern part of India. Careful handling Necessary.

'Looking to the gravity of the situation and the magnitude of the danger, the problem ought to have been dealt with more cautiously and efficiently, than what it was done under the Military regime of Hyderabad. The pre-Police Action regime had foolishly harnessed these elements not knowing what they had been doing and now their policy would recoil on the masses. But better actions were expected from the Government that took its place after the



Swamiji, Dr Melkote, Govinddas shroof and Pangrikar
with Ravishankar Shukla.



Swamiji with Kamala Devi Chatopadhyay, Dr. Melkote and Nalinagappa

Committee is being awaited and what impact on the political life of the people of Hyderabad it will have is to be seen.

The Communist Menace in Hyderabad

Adverting to the Communist menace, Swamyji in his forthright article, wrote on its genesis and the remedy, and suggested radical reforms to meet the challenge from within.

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Police Action As one who had to deal with the issues at close quarters, I have no hesitation in saying that the situation was not properly understood then, and naturally dealt with in a wrong manner. The Hyderabad State Congress which had found an abiding place in the hearts of the people, was not sympathetically viewed by some of the officers, who held the reins of power. Congressmen who had fought the freedom battle and who helped the administration in combating the Communist, fell prey to the evil machinations of the feudal elements who in league with some of the corrupt officials, managed to put the field workers behind the prison bars. The State Congress was ordered to suspend its functioning in these two districts. This was the worst blunder which told on the morale of the people, and the peasantry was left without anyone to guide them. *Simultaneously, the Communists adopted the policy of killing Congress workers and Congress sympathisers from the rural areas, and more than 400 Congressmen were killed.* The administration under the Military Governor used all Military strength but they could not check the Communist menace and reports at variance with actual state of affairs were issued from time to time. I had to contradict many of them by issuing open statements and by submitting memoranda to proper quarters. But things continued as before. The military operations in their nature could not find out the genuine Communist leadership which remained intact and guided the movement. There was no coordination between the various departments of the administration, particularly the military, civil and Police Departments. The sum total of the effect was that it was only the people who were harassed and the Communists remained intact. If we enter the villages today we find

the peasant terror-stricken, because of the sten-gun of the Communist and the iron hand of the military and the Police, particularly when thousands have been sent to prison all promiscuously not knowing which is the seed and which is the chaff.

'I have tried to give in a nutshell the present state of affairs. It is with a view to finding out and apply correct remedies so that the sufferings of the people should be minimised at the earliest and a menace to the nation should cease to exist. We must have a positive approach to the problem, then alone can a correct solution be found.

Solutions to the Problem

'1 The problem of Telengana is the problem of ownership of the land. A special emergency regulation should be promulgated with immediate effect giving the actual tiller of the soil the security of the ownership, so that he may feel safe and be fixed in his own land. Slow process through Committees and Bills which take long periods may not suit the present contingency.

2 The present Tenancy Act should be strictly enforced and emergency machinery should be created to deal with the cases of unlawful ejectments of the peasants from the land, which they have been tilling. We had made this suggestion to the Government under the Military regime. Though agreed to in principle, it was never seriously implemented. In one instance though Tahsildar's judgement went in favour of the ejected peasant, he was compelled not to take possession of land by the Deshmukhs and the officials under intimidation and threat. To create greater confidence, this machinery should consist of both officials and non officials, on whom the people can put trust and should be vested with full powers to decide the cases on the spot.

' 3. Cases of all those people who have been arrested on mere suspicion, should be properly investigated and all those against whom no positive evidence is found should be immediately released. A Committee, consisting of an official and a Congressman, or any one, who knows the situation at close quarters, should be formed for this purpose.

' 4. The rural economy having suffered enormously during the last few months, Taccavi should be given, wherever necessary.

' 5. The agricultural labour which has remained idle and has no means of livelihood, should be engaged in road and tank construction and such other enterprises which would give them an earning to sustain themselves in the transitional period.

The Congressmen's Duty

' While all this is being done, a sense of security be created, in the minds of the people, through propaganda and by creating village defence squads if possible. Efforts, such as, encouraging bodies like Anti-Communist front, Agricultural Association and the like, which have only created greater complications, should cease forthwith.

The entire Congress organisation must be geared up and be made to work in closest cooperation with the Government. A perfect understanding should be reached between the two wings, as to the best manner in which the work should be carried on. Congressmen should go into the masses and give positive relief to the peasant. They must not allow the feudal mentality, elements to stand in the way of the betterment of the lot of the peasants. I know certain cases in which office bearers of the Congress Committees have themselves been the cause of ejecting the peasants from the lands.

How can such people be expected to weed out Communist influence? By continuing exploitation, suppression and unlawful possession, they help and not hinder the Communist in his nefarious activities. My final suggestion is that, some of us should go and settle in these areas and move and work with the local people so that the general morale may be raised.

I am glad that a new orientation in the policy and attitude of the Government is definitely discernable and with the healthy outlook, which the Chief Minister possesses, assisted by Capt. Nanjappa, who is put in sole charge for this task, things in these districts are expected to improve, provided matters are shaped in the right manner and in good time.

The problem has to be examined from all angles psychological and economic, no less than punitive and administrative. How the Communists have benefitted at least in some measure, the feudalism-ridden peasantry of the Telengana districts? This may be a pertinent question to ask. But the economic and psychological effect of it should not be minimised. Much of the success of the efforts would depend upon the manner and the speed with which the basic solution of the problem is found.'

The Communist Problem

In another interesting article on the same subject, Swamiji wrote in *The Vision*, which is again new in its own way-

The Week-end saw two very important developments in the capital of the State, in regard to the Communist menace in Hyderabad. For sometime past, the Government had been utilising all its resources to check the growth of this menace, but reports received from various quarters indicated that the Communists had spread their tentacles to other areas also.

and that they had infiltrated into several talukas of Karimnagar and Mahboobnagar districts and were very active round about Vikarabad and had established a base near Kohir in Bidar district. The official reports on the other hand, gave out quite a different version and stated that the situation was well under control. We are not in a position to examine the correctness of these reports. We are content that those who were dealing with the situation are once more made conscious of the stupendous tasks that lie ahead in eradicating this menace.

To Liberate the people

'The officials of the three States of Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad, have met and are reported to have formulated plans for joint-action and have effected necessary coordination. In the past also, similar efforts have been made with what results, we are not in a position to say. We do not minimise the importance and utility of such efforts. But we feel that these efforts alone will not bring about the desired results. Something more vital is necessary, if the people of Telengana are to be liberated from the clutches of the Communists.

Prominent Congressmen from Telengana met together and are reported to have freely exchanged views with Captain Nanjappa, who is in charge of the 'Red areas'. There was a free expression of views and some of the workers who met us have communicated to us that they were satisfied with the talks and they expected that in future, there would be better cooperation between the Congress and the authorities, and that the necessary coordination would be effected. In the past the most unfortunate thing was that Congressmen who had mainly faced the Communists were themselves suspended and put under arrest. It is well

that the authorities have seen the error and have shown readiness to remove it.

"There seems to be a growing anxiety on the part of the administration about the speedy manner in which the Communist problem has to be dealt with. The State Congress Executive also, in its session at Mahabubnagar, has passed a resolution about the same. A concerted plan to bring together anti Communist elements seems to have been also mooted in certain quarters. It is, therefore, clear that renewed efforts are being made to effectively deal with the problem. On various occasions, we have unequivocally stated our views and at the present moment also we wish to say what we feel to be the correct approach. **A Proper Approach Needed**

We do not think that any anti Communist Front will make headway in the situation. No purpose would be served by bringing together all anti Communist elements. There are various sections and elements in society who are opposed to Communists for various reasons. Even the Jagirdar and the Deshmukh is opposed to them, perhaps more bitterly, than anybody else. Himself being the main cause of the birth of Communism in Telengana, he is trying to keep himself intact and using all objectionable methods to remove the basic cause. With him in the anti-Communist front, nothing can be achieved. The exploiters and the feudal elements will have to be scrupulously excluded from such front. Otherwise, the effort will defeat its own purpose.

"There must be a unity of approach to the problem between those who desire to put in coordinated efforts. The State Congress has formulated its own basic stand. It should reiterate the same, chalk out the programme and invite the cooperation of all those who

agree to it and are ready to work it out. This would be a positive approach and would bring together only those who are earnest about the job and would work, not to save themselves. We do not think that Jahagirdars and Deshmukhs would see the wisdom of choosing the path of voluntary liquidation. If there be any exception we would welcome them.

A Peasant-Problem

The problem of Telengana is a peasant problem. Shouting hoarse about the Communist and accusing him in and out of season has done nothing to thwart the menace. On the other hand, much ground has slipped under the feet of those who have played only a negative role of accusation and fault-finding. They have on the contrary, strengthened the Communists. *The Agrarian Reforms which are now made into law should be effectively implemented. There are potential dangers to it. Interested sections, who see their own liquidation in the reforms will try to make them a failure and the Communists will thrive.* We are stating all this, because we know how spuriously these methods are being followed under our very nose. We therefore wish to be very plain and frank. Unless the State Congress and the Government are determined to finish off the exploitation of the peasant through the strictest possible enforcement of the reforms, no progress in the direction of counteracting the Communist will succeed.

Harassment should stop

The military operations necessary as they are have their own oddities. From reports reaching us from many parts people have been unnecessarily harassed. This is clear from the number that has been sent to the jails. Even those hundreds have been released of late. The total number of alleged Communists

behind the prison bars has not decreased. We think that the arrests of suspected Communists should be stopped forthwith, and no person should be allowed to be arrested unless the Chief Minister himself is satisfied about the case. *The whims of the local official have done greatest harm to the people of Telengana. We insist upon the Chief Minister to see that no further scope is given to such lapses.* It must be remembered that the prosecution of innocent souls would recoil immensely on the Government itself. 'Shooting at sight', may be considered alright in certain situations. But shooting the innocent, under suspicion, can under no circumstances be justified.

Inside the jails the conditions under which the detainees are made to live, are sub-human. We have received first-hand information about this. Does the Government realise what a tremendously bad odour such a treatment leaves on the minds of those who are made to suffer it? Only those who have been inside the jails, as politicals, can realise this. Communists are after all well educated intellectuals. They should be treated as politicals. Besides, in Hyderabad, large numbers have been arrested only on suspicion. We strongly feel that all amenities of B class detenus should be given forthwith to those who are detained in Jails. Let there be a human touch in the treatment towards these persons.

* We know of one instance. A Congress worker from Wanaparthy was arrested as a suspected Communist. No charges could be framed against him. All investigations proved that he was an out and out Congressman. Still the local authorities kept him in jail. His wife was suffering from T.B. and is on her death-bed in the Yerragadda Hospital. There was a callous refusal to release him even at such a stage. It is only after herculean efforts

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that he is reported to have been released on parole or bail, to meet the wife, who is counting the last moments of her earthly existence. This is only one amongst various other instances, which have not come to light. The effect of such harshness should not be minimised. We are, therefore, clearly of the view, that all those against whom no definite charges could be made, should be released forthwith and those who are kept in as detainees, should get necessary facilities, provided under the rules of 'B Class detainees'."

Communist Party Cannot Deliver the Goods

Ridiculing the slogan that the Communist Party could deliver the goods, Swamiji in his next article wrote.

"The internal contradictions that are manifest in the Communist Party of India seem to have grown stupendous in their nature and Party stands almost cracked for the time being atleast. None in India will be sorry for this. The Communist Party of India since its inception, has played a treacherous role in the movement for national liberation and has completely forfeited any claim to be a torch-bearer of new light and an effective hand in shaping the future destiny of 350 millions of the people of India. The best brains in the Party always took a wrong view of the national situation and shaped the policy in a manner prejudicial to the national interests.

'Those who were expected to be the torch-bearers of the freedom struggle, proved formidable obstructionists and the programmes enunciated by them have completely gone against their own interests. The leaders of the Communist Party of India had not even the wisdom to know that even for a Communist coup to succeed, the Party should have been in vanguard of the freedom struggle. Those

who have failed to secure any footing in the indigenous soil, cannot hope to build up a sound structure, either of a social or an economic character. No wonder then, that the Communists in India, have been relegated to a position from which it would be difficult to recover. It was expected that, soon after the attainment of freedom, the Communist Party of India, would realise its responsibility to work shoulder to shoulder with the main political organisation of the country, the Indian National Congress, which, with a revolutionary zeal, had succeeded in liberating the vast mass of people and had come to secure for itself an abiding place in the heart of millions. The Calcutta Session of the Communist Party, took unrealistic and illusive decisions and launched upon a programme of an insurrection to overthrow the existing Government through violent means. The Telengana of Hyderabad was made the basis in which the coup was started, with what sufferings to the people, everybody knows. Two and half years, experience has proved, beyond any doubt, that the coup expected by the Communist comrades has recoiled upon themselves and they have to blame none but themselves, for the miseries which they have showered upon the peasant whom they wanted to liberate from the clutches of the feudal landlord."

The release of Mr Dange and his colleagues, had created a faint hope in the minds of thinking sections that the bitter experience of the immediate past would have given a better vision to the leaders of the Communist Party of India. There are assertions of policies made by different personalities and refutations by the rest. The official section which can authoritatively deliver the goods, seems to have found no undivided loyalty for itself and contradictory

reports of expulsions of the one or the other have come to light. The latest report is that of the official section which questions the right of Mr. Dange to speak authoritatively about the policy to be pursued by the Party. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to say, where and how, the Communist Party of India stands, vis-à-vis, the main problems facing the country. Sri Dange has failed to convince conscious sections in India, that there is any genuine change in the policy of his party. His idea of the revival of a mass movement in the town and the country-side, by fraternising with Leftist Parties, on the one hand, and gingering up the peasant struggle, on the other, has its own dangerous aspects, because, the essence of policy in his own words, would be the strengthening and consolidating of the Agrarian Movement on the 'Telengana Model' of 'resistance to the landlords who sought police protection and intervention, would be met with armed resistance'. He is also reported to have in mind, a scheme to reorientate the policies and to forgo United Democratic Front of all the leftist groups.

'We are not anxious to know what Mr. Dange and his colleagues intend to do. We are content that the utterances, contradictory in their nature, which many of those who have been recently released, have landed the Party into greater confusion and suspicion. So long as there is no unequivocal assertion, that it would not be the bullet but the ballot-box, that would be the main test for effecting any social or economic change and strict adherence to this policy, nobody much less the Governments of the States can have any inclination to make the Party, a legal one. The responsibility of those who stand for social and economic change through a peaceful democratic process is very great. If other methods fail, normal way

for progress and evolution is shut. Abnormal methods, like insurrection come up and the result is shake-ups and jerks, disastrous in their effects. In India, particularly the problem of bringing about a new social and economic order, has turned into a first-class issue and unless the Indian masses can see new light and hope, howsoever faint it may be, the talk of following insurrectionary methods will not cease. The Indian National Congress which has been the accredited leader of the people has to so shape things as to make it pretty clear to the ignorant exploited masses that it would spare no pains to end their miseries at all costs. Future depends upon what Congress and the Congress Government do and not upon what the Communists and others do not do.'

In communist Villages

Swamiji toured almost all the communist-infested villages in the Telangana and was deeply moved about the plight of the people there. Summing up his tour impressions, Swamiji thus wrote -

"Law must act in earnestness. Five days' tour of the Communist infested villages in different Talukas of Warangal district, was an instructive and exhilarating experience for me. For sometime past, I had not visited these areas. But this time, I wished to observe conditions for myself and not depend upon others' reports. I, therefore, decided to penetrate into the interior parts and not the outskirts. I visited fairly a good number of villages in different areas and the journey was made mostly in a bullock cart. I am giving here, whatever impressions I carry, about the situation in these parts. This contains only a fraction of these

The Agency

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who have failed to secure any footing in the indigenous soil, cannot hope to build up a sound structure, either of a social or an economic character. No wonder then, that the Communists in India, have been relegated to a position from which it would be difficult to recover. It was expected that, soon after the attainment of freedom, the Communist Party of India would realise its responsibility to work shoulder to shoulder with the main political organisation of the country, the Indian National Congress, which, with a revolutionary zeal, had succeeded in liberating the vast mass of people and had come to secure for itself an abiding place in the heart of millions. The Calcutta Session of the Communist Party, took unrealistic and illusive decisions and launched upon a programme of an insurrection to overthrow the existing Government through violent means. The Telengana of Hyderabad was made the basis in which the coup was started, with what sufferings to the people, everybody knows. Two and half years, experience has proved, beyond any doubt, that the coup expected by the Communist comrades has recoiled upon themselves and they have to blame none but themselves, for the miseries which they have showered upon the peasant whom they wanted to liberate from the clutches of the feudal landlord.

The release of Mr Dange and his colleagues had created a faint hope in the minds of thinking sections that the bitter experience of the immediate past would have given a better vision to the leaders of the Communist Party of India. There are assertions of policies made by different personalities and refutations by the rest. The official section which can authoritatively deliver the goods, seems to have found no undivided loyalty for itself and contradictory

reports of expulsions of the one or the other have come to light. The latest report is that of the official section which questions the right of Mr Dange to speak authoritatively about the policy to be pursued by the Party. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to say, where and how, the Communist Party of India stands, vis a vis, the main problems facing the country. Sri Dange has failed to convince conscious sections in India, that there is any genuine change in the policy of his party. His idea of the revival of a mass movement in the town and the country-side, by fraternising with Leftist Parties, on the one hand, and gingering up the peasant struggle, on the other, has its own dangerous aspects, because, the essence of policy in his own words, would be the strengthening and consolidating of the Agrarian Movement on the Telengana Model of resistance to the landlords who sought police protection and intervention, would be met with armed resistance. He is also reported to have in mind, a scheme to reorientate the policies and to forgo United Democratic Front of all the left-tist groups.

We are not anxious to know what Mr. Dange and his colleagues intend to do. We are content that the utterances, contradictory in their nature, which many of those who have been recently released, have landed the Party into greater confusion and suspicion. So long as there is no unequivocal assertion, that it would not be the bullet but the ballot-box, that would be the main test for effecting any social or economic change and strict adherence to this policy, nobody much less the Governments of the States can have any inclination to make the Party, a legal one. The responsibility of those who stand for social and economic change through a peaceful democratic process is very great. If other methods fail, normal way

for progress and evolution is shut. Abnormal methods, like Insurrection come up and the result is shake-ups and jerks, disastrous in their effects. In India, particularly the problem of bringing about a new social and economic order, has turned into a first class issue and unless the Indian masses can see new light and hope, however faint it may be, the talk of following insurrectionary methods will not cease. The Indian National Congress which has been the accredited leader of the people has to shape things as to make it pretty clear to the ignorant exploited masses that it would spare no pains to end their miseries at all costs. Future depends upon what Congress and the Congress Government do and not upon what the Communists and others do not do." In communist Villages

Swamiji toured almost all the communist-infested villages in the Telangana and was deeply moved about the plight of the people there. Summing up his tour impressions, Swamiji thus wrote -

'Law must act in earnestness. I've days tour of the Communist-infested villages in different Talukas of Warangal district, was an instructive and exhilarating experience for me. For sometime past, I had not visited these areas. But this time, I wished to observe conditions for myself and not depend upon others' reports. I, therefore, decided to penetrate into the interior parts and not the outskirts. I visited fairly a good number of villages in different areas and the journey was made mostly in a bullock cart. I am giving here, whatever impressions I carry, about the situation in these parts. This contains only a fraction of these

The Agency

The politically awakened sections seem to be in a perplexed state of mind and a feeling

of worry and agony has engulfed them. They do not find any light to show the way out of the present sufferings. The social structure, which contains two sections opposed to each other, on economic basis, has naturally led them to choose one of the two trends and the whole life is sharply marked, by not too rare occurrences of the clash of economic interests. No wonder, that the work also has its own line of demarcation.

The Telengana-Skeleton

I wished to touch the mind of the peasant direct. *The emaciated skeleton of the Telengana peasant, spoke to me, through thousands of eyes of men, women and children, who had gathered in a mood of uncertain expectancy. His sufferings are not yet at an end. He had been made the victim, an object of prey by the past regimes.* The feudal autocracy had almost reduced him to a sub-human existence. In his anxiety to terminate his sufferings, he allowed himself to pass into the hands of the Communist, who, for sometimes, offered a measure of relief and gave him a sense of hope, which could not be fulfilled. The experience during the past few years, the atrocities committed on the kith and kin by the Communist himself, the sufferings due to military operations, which have their own oddities, the dislocation of the social and economic life—all these have turned him almost into a cynic, who takes things that happen around with indifference and views life as something which is shaping strangely, where he feels his fate oscillating this way and that, without any power or strength on his part to direct it in his own interest.

The Dreadful Nights

Some parts of Yellandu Taluk were covered in the dead of night, even when it was past

midnight. The villagers by hundreds were waiting in deep expectancy. Their love knew no bounds. How do they feel? What is their psychological make-up? Who will shape them on right lines? A big question indeed! But, the answer to it, cannot be deferred for long.

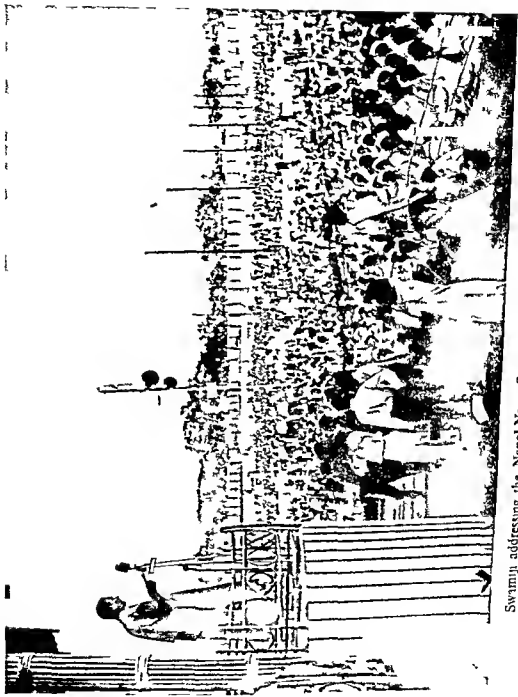
The "Dorn —Supreme

The feudal lord or 'Dora', as he is usually called, who has been the root cause for the growth of Communism in these parts, sees his fate sealed. In his anxiety to save as much of what he possesses as possible, he is taking recourse to methods which while offering him a temporary financial gain, are creating greater troubles for him. Instead of allowing the change to take a peaceful course, he is devising methods to suppress the peasant. He seems to be unmindful of the consequences of his own wrong attitudes and actions. At times he seeks the aid of the individual officers, and in a certain measure, he is not disappointed.

To turn to the exploited peasant once again, no talks and speeches will appeal to him. Where is the relief for him? A bold decisive and better alternative which would remove his immediate sufferings and give him a free and honoured social and economic life by squarely solving land problem, is the only way to wean him away from the Communist. Mere palliatives will fall flat. I am convinced of this urgency. After deepest possible thought I have come to the conclusion that the psychological appeal is difficult, unless there is corresponding economic relief coming in substantial measure and in good time too. They are not certain if the law as it stands will make the necessary psychological appeal. It needs therefore, be amended before its actual implementation. Amendments to relevant sections have been suggested to the



Panditji addressing the Nana Nagar session of the Indian National Congress in 1953.



Swamiiji addressing the Nanal Nagar Session of the Indian National Congress 1953

Minister-in-charge and people are expecting some substantial changes to come in the immediate future.

"Democratic life is at cross-roads in these parts. It has to be stabilised at all costs, no matter who gains and who stands to lose. Moreover, it seems to contain elements of suppression. This is not at all a happy spectacle.

The Immediate Issue

"A planned scheme of constructive creation should be prepared by Congressmen, and all active workers must engage themselves in implementing it. Even the help of non-Congressmen, who agree to work for the scheme, should be welcomed. They should merge themselves in the work, and make an all-out effort to liberate the peasant from poverty and squalor. A three-years' plan of work, in this regard, will certainly change the face of Telengana, if it is executed in a silent and solid manner.

"I have only indicated the line in a rough way. All those who have the interest of the peasant at heart and who intend to extricate him from the clutches of the feudal lord on the other, must apply themselves to this and give it a definite, concrete shape. I have been also working at it and shall place it before those who wish to work for it as a *Mission* to be undertaken immediately."

Telengana Problem Again

Continuing his tour impressing Swamiji again referred to the Telengana problem thus:-

"Chillepalli, is a small village in Huzurnagar Taluka and is situated at a distance of six miles from Miryalguda, on Miryalguda - Huzurnagar Road, in Nalgonda district. For sometime past, this area has been the scene of gruesome murders by Communists and other

unsocial elements. The life of the people had been sandwiched between the armed action of the Police, on the one hand, and the Communists, on the other. The people were completely terror-stricken. Six weeks back when I toured the District, I realised that no words could restore the fallen morale of the people. The tears and sobs of thousands could be minimised by sharing their sufferings, only by staying amidst them. It was necessary to remove from their minds the fear of weapons. As such, on 20th January, I decided to go to Chillepalli and camp there for sometime. The villagers had constructed a hut for my stay outside the Harijan Colony. Sjt. Ummetla Keshav Rao, the president of the Nalgonda District Congress Committee and Sjt. Boinpalli Venkatram Rao and Lakshmi Narsimha Rao, president and Secretary of the Huzurnagar Taluka Congress Committee, and a few workers have been staying with me.

"The first thing that we did was to move to the villages and go deep into the rural areas in a bullock cart, unarmed and unescorted. We were convinced that this was the only way to remove the fear that had overtaken the village-folk. The very night that we reached Chillepalli, three murders were committed in a village at a distance of a few miles. At first, people were horrified to see us move unprotected. Gradually, a feeling of confidence was created and with a period of a week or so, after we had visited about three dozens of villages and covered a few hundreds of miles of travel, the village-folk were seen conducting their affairs more freely. A large number of cultivators pay visit to the hut every-day from morn to eve.

"It was difficult to find any human being in the fields after 5 P. M. When we used a jeep car, people would run away in scare, because,

they were afraid that some armed affair was on the anvil. We sat and conversed with the villagers for hours together, and tried to impress upon them the idea that it was not weapon that gave them the strength. The minds of the people are gradually being weaned from violence.

The Communists have been murdering those who have either deserted or are suspected of being informants. Those people, were possibly once their supporters, but have severed connections with them at present. People have lost all confidence in the Communists, firstly, because they have realised that the Communists have not been able to solve their basic problems. On the other hand, they have brought police operations and consequent troubles only, on hundreds of villages. Besides, they see that they are themselves being shot, by Communists, whom they had helped at one time. It was only under the heavy pressure of death, by sten-gun, that they had not expressed their dislike for the Communists. The people had come to entertain feeling of dislike for the police also, who had promiscuously thrashed the villagers *en masse* for alleged complicity with the Communists. It is only now that the utility of such a conduct has been realised, and at present, action is being taken more judiciously, isolating the mischievous from the innocent.

In addition to murders, burning paddy stocks, the haystacks, and cattle, had been also going on. These are now far less in number. To my mind, all this shows a frantic and desperate attempt on the part of the Communists to hold on vainly, in face of a total and miserable collapse.

Pangs of Sorrow

I felt the pangs of the weeping hearts of thousands of sisters, and decided to go and

stay with them. It was no premeditated action. Something within me has prompted me to do so, and I went there immediately. I did not call anybody except my Personal Secretary Damodar, and Sjt Ummetla Keshavrao, who would shirk no death, I am glad to say that at least ten souls have gathered together to live amidst death. This is enough for me. I am again going back and would stay there, as long as it is necessary.

"I do not have big things in view. I know I am too small for that. I wish to share the suffering and thus heal the wound of the heart of thousands who have known no softer human touch, but are suppressed under the presence of arms. I shall feel satisfied, if I could do so. I have gone there in opposition to none. If at all there is any opposition, it is a psychological one, against violence, from whatever quarter it comes.

Positive Action Needed

I am more than ever convinced, having observed things at close quarters, that it is by positive action, and basic approach to various problems of life, confronting the villagers, and offering a square and just solution to the agrarian problem and removing many-sided ills, from the rural areas, that the village-folk could be won over. No anti-Communist propaganda and no amount of speeches are going to impress the villager any more. It is positive action, a definite role, and a better picture of life in actuality, that would create healthier trends in him. Therefore, I hold that mere military action is not the way to deal with the situation. A net-work of constructive activities, conducted in a missionary spirit, by selfless workers, is the dire necessity in these areas. If Congressmen and others are able to do so, the people will be with them. The

Communist, who has once served the people of these parts tremendously, has lost ground, due to his misjudgement. It is now for others to serve. This does not necessitate any abuse of the Communist.

"I am trying to follow this line in my own way, with a few colleagues. I will write something more after sometime, if I feel that I should do so.

"I have tried to study the situation at close quarters and have suggested the measure which would improve the situation. The agrarian problem in Telengana has to be squarely solved and I have suggested certain amendments to the present Tenancy Act. Other ameliorative measures, necessary to remove the hardships of the village-folk, are also proposed. I will continue in these areas and build up positive constructive line amongst the villagers.

Spotlight on a Peculiar Race in Telengana

In his next article, Swamiji wrote about one of the peculiar races in Telengana which makes a striking reading today.

'During my sojourn for last few weeks into the Communist affected areas, I had the opportunity of moving through a vast area, comprising of mountain and forest tracts, and have an insight into the life of some of the human species, who, to this day, are leading the same primitive type of life and who, for all practical purposes, seem to be unaffected by whatever is happening all around. Civilisation in every sense we take it, has not touched even a fringe of their life, and they are, as they have been, for centuries ago.

'The *Chenchus* of Amrahad area, are a special race by themselves, compared with other aboriginal tribes, they are few in number. They are less than four thousand. They are

scattered over a vast area, full of thick forest and wild hunt. They live in small hutments, with small habitations. Hardly you will find a dozen huts in a particular habitation. Of late, some of them are accustomed to wear a small lion cloth, both men and women. They hardly know any cooked food. They feed upon forest roots. I visited some of these hutments, penetrating deep into the forest about 25 miles, beyond Monanur, on way to Srisailem, the sacred place of pilgrimage. I saw them eating tamarind, mixed with ashes. That is the main food on which they sustain. It was surprising to see, even the dogs being fed upon the same! There was nothing else for them. At times, they collect boney and for some time past, some people from the plains down below, purchase it from them. It is from this money that the *Chenchus* get some clothing etc. Needless to say, you find a couple of earthen pots in each family. I saw ornaments made of tamarind on the bodies of small children. They are naked to the core. One sometimes feels, how a human race could survive at all, in this crude form!

From Monanur to Farhabad, there is only one small well and this is the only one from which the *Chenchus* of the parts, I visited, could draw water. They have to go at least 2½ miles to fetch a vessel of water. No wonder that they know no bathing. These tribes speak Telugu. Down below, at Monanur, the Social Service Department of the Government have opened a Rural Welfare Centre, in which along with the rest, the *Chenchu* lads are schooled and an experiment is being made to settle a few families at one place and make them used to cultivation. Here life seemed to have more human appearance. No non official agencies have so far approached these people. I discussed with the local

officer, and others, the possibility of opening a hostel and a boarding house for the *Chenchu* lads, on behalf of the Adimjati Sevak Sangh. The plan is being scrutinised.

The problem of aborigines, all over India, has come to the forefront these days, in a more vivid sense than it had here to fore been. The Constitution has given them the status as the rest.

This class of human beings have to be converted into better and more civilised creatures. This is a Herculean task. Both Government and public associations have to put in coordinated efforts to see that the condition of the *Chenchus* and the rest is improved in all respects.

This necessitates a well laid out plan. The Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Hyderabad branch, is formulating a plan to run at least half a dozen hostels for these tribes. I shall deal with the Lambadas some time next month. Now, Lambadas of Telangana.

In his searching revelations about the problem of Telangana, Swamiji wrote the life of Lambadas and the need to change their outcome.

The Lambada community in Nalgonda district, is scattered over vast area, mostly forming a hilly and forest tract. The Tandals or habitations, consist of huts, numbering thirty to hundred or more each. The main occupation of these people is agriculture. They are no nomad tribe. They can even be classed as a middle community. They own large number of cattle sometimes more than a thousand. The Lambadas are strong in built and full of vigour. They work hard and grow almost all types of food-grains needed for their sustenance. Milk is in abundance. Generally, they drink water from the springs.

Fresh weather, good water and substantial diet has made them into able-bodied and nicely featured community.

Ignorant Race

'Like the rest of the aboriginal tribes, the Lambadas do not lead an isolated life. Except for habitations, which lie sparsely in different tracts, their mode of life is similar to that of the rest of the people in the adjoining areas. Barring the age-long social customs, which are prevalent to this day, this community is fast assimilating the ideas and thoughts, which is influencing other sections of the people. They hardly send their children to school and no arrangements have still been made to open school so or near their habitations. Naturally, they are sunk into deep ignorance.

'The Communists have found in this community an easy prey for their Party building. It is hard to say how much consciousness they were able to create amongst this tribe. Suffice it to say that the nature of their habitations afforded the Communists to use these places as their hide-outs and shelter grounds. Some of these habitations were difficult to approach. As a result, the Communists could make some of these places the centres of their plots. At times these people appear to have acted as couriers also.

'The strong hand of the military and police has fallen upon the Communists. In many places the small habitations were shifted and concentrated into one place, at times at a distance of a few miles. Subsequently, the economic life of this community had been very badly affected, rather indiscriminately. In many places and agriculture, the only means of sustenance for these Lambadas, suffered considerably. I have visited scores of these habitations and have personally seen how

immensely they have suffered. The matter was represented to Proper quarters and barring a few exceptions, these *Tandas* have now gone back to their original sites.

Most of these *Tandas* are now free from the Communist-Influence. As I have stated above there has been no conscious acceptance of the ideology. In the clash of arms, they were perhaps the section which had to pay very heavily.

Nobody except the Communists have made any approach to the *Lambadas* of these parts so far. During the year or so, a *Lambada* Conference was organised at Kondrapool near Miryalguda. This was the first time that the *Lambada* community came to know something about the Congress.

During my recent tour, arrangements have been made to start two primary schools on behalf of the Hyderabad Branch of the *Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh*. A Hostel for the school-going lads of this tribe, is proposed to be started at Miryalguda. Fortunately, a *Lambada* matriculate, by name Raghupati, has offered his whole-time services to this cause.

'The problem of converting these *Lambadas* into good citizens of Republican India, is a stupendous one. A small beginning has been made. A silent persistent work by a few, at least, may change the present outlook of this community. Who will do it? It is no use blaming the community or the Communists. Let others go and serve them and the picture will change.

An Appeal to Congressmen

In his concluding despatch on the Telengana problem, Swamiji took pains to analyse the situation in correct perspective and suggested various remedial measures to improve the lot of the people. He wrote thus:

'It is full two months since I have been staying in the disturbed areas of some parts of the Nalgonda district. I have penetrated into the innermost tracts in the forest and hills, and have visited one hundred and sixteen villages, in Huzurnagar and Miryalguda Talukas. I have tried to talk to the people direct and have dived deep into their hearts to know what they feel. I have discussed with them the problems that face them and in my own humble way shown them the way which would remove their present misery. I have spoken to the officials and apprised them of the situation, as I felt it. No Communists have met me. Whatever I had to say to them, I have stated in my talks to the villagers. I have also suggested to the higher quarters, the ameliorative measures, which are necessary, to improve the lot of the people in these parts.

One thing I have not done so far. I have not made any public statement worth the name, except in tit-bits. Even now, I have no desire to do so. I am only apprising the concerned sections, what I have seen and felt, in the hope that the element of truth contained in them would be appreciated and necessary steps taken to effect an overall improvement in the situation. I am, however, placing a few facts before the people as that would help them in assessing the situation correctly.

Confidence Prevails

There is a definite psychological change in the people. The fallen hearts of thousands have felt some relief. They are carrying on their work more freely and the fear complex is greatly minimised, though not wholly remedied. They are now in a mood to think and apply their minds to the situations surrounding them. The panic created by the sten-guns of uosocial

elements, including the Communists, is fast waning and the fear of arms is growing less and less. Though it cannot be said that they have completely extricated themselves from the clutches of the arms, they have been feeling the futility of arms to build up life. All this needed a sympathetic view of their miseries. *I have done nothing more than being amidst them in their woes and speaking to them heart-to-heart. I am happy that the fallen hearts are once again experiencing the lost breath of life, though a feeble one, at the present moment.* The people are trying to see the way other than that shown by the Communist. An effective alternative has to be shown and a reassuring feeling has to be created in them. This cannot be done by arms. Immediate amelioration measures are necessary. *In this connection I would like to reiterate once again the dire urgency of solving the Agrarian problem in Telengana squarely, and on a basis of justice and equity. The present hesitancy is not helpful. It will defeat the purpose of other efforts.*

There is one factor in the situation, which should be remembered. On a critical analysis of the situation I have found that in some parts, there are elements other than the Communists who for their own selfish interest are using the present situation in their own sinister way. These are not limited to a particular section. These persons do not stay in their villages. They have deserted them. They stay near a Police Camp or in Taluka headquarter. Some of them act as middlemen. They spin false stories. They try to aggravate the panic. Their interest lies in continuing the present state of affairs. They pay money to whomsoever it is necessary at time even to the Communist and petty elements in the administration. Some come from Zamindars, some from Patel - Patwans, some from the unsocial ele-

ments at times even under the garb of the Congress. Due to all these factors the sufferings of the people have grown and the situation is complicated. Any truck with these sections will make matters worse.

Barring some exceptions I have found that there is a change for the better in the manner in which situations are being handled by those who are entrusted with the task of restoring law and order. I have not hesitated to point out the lapses wherever I felt necessary and I am glad that my suggestions have received due consideration. I am thankful to local officers Civil Police and Military, for having made my task easy.

To the Communists

The Communists have misled the people by initiating a movement of arson, murder and loot and reduced themselves to the role of terrorists. Nobody can believe in their professions. Even now they should stop the use of arms and cry halt to desperadoes whom they have let loose on the people. The Prime Minister has made his policy towards the Communist Party quite clear. The Party is not banned all over the country. It is allowed to function. Wherever it is banned, it is because of its terrorist activities. It is high time that the Communists in Hyderabad cry halt effectively to the terrorist programme which they have initiated and which is being desperately pursued by certain elements from amongst them. A change in the policy must be a change in practice and not simply profession. The Communists have done the greatest disservice to the fallen and the exploited whom they professed to save. They have made the peasant fall flat.

The Task Awaited

I had no big things in view when I settled

down at Chillepalli I felt the urge within and I stayed in these parts I am satisfied that the situation has improved I would be more happy if those who wish to deal with this problem do so in a positive manner, which is the only path to be tread Whatever has been achieved is very meagre The problem is stupendous and needs a band of selfless, devoted and intelligent workers Will responsible Congressmen come and settle in these parts and carry on constructive work and solve the difficulties which the peasant has to face every day? No speeches are necessary It is continuous stay, a sympathetic heart which the peasant needs

I am grateful to the President of the Nalgonda District Congress Committee and his colleagues, who remained with me, in spite of many impediments Though few in number, they have been steadfast, and are carrying on the work with faith and zeal I am sure their continued efforts will bear fruit and the lot of the suppressed improved

During the month of May a few Centres in which the present mission will be carried on, are proposed to be started Plans are being chalked out to make them as useful as circumstances permit My stay at Chillepalli will continue for sometime more

I had decided to visit some parts of Warangal district during the last week of this month The situation there seems to be more complicated I cannot say anything unless I see things for myself I am anxious to go there as early as I could But I feel it necessary

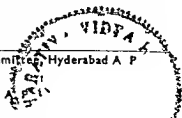
to meet Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whom I have not seen for long After my return from Delhi, I will go to Warangal District

And Swamiji did the greatest service to humanity as a whole, by speaking truth nothing but truth, on the Telengana problem, perhaps, for the first time, any leader of his eminence did so far Swamiji by his outspoken writings, proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that Pen is mightier than sword All hail Swamiji for his splendid contribution to the healthy growth of infant democracy in the former Hyderabad State

In fact, Swamiji had written on almost all subjects which commend themselves to the present day leaders His close study of eminent leaders of the Nation, and his nearness to them brought about very intimate descriptions of their personalities His touching homage to Bhagwan Sree Gururaj, the Mahatma, Gurudev Tagore, Sri Aurobindo and Sardar Patel, are some of his greatest contributions Equally great contribution of his, is, on 'Jawaharlal Nehru, a leader of his heart and choice'

A Prayer

It takes many pages to reproduce all the best contributions of Swamiji His was seen at his best as the Editor of 'The Vision' because knowing the people as he did and facing the problems as he faced he had candid opinions to offer People of Hyderabad salute him for all that and something more! May Swamiji continue to light the candle of men's minds for many many years to come ✨



Vande Mataram
Sujalam Suphalam
Malayaja Seethalam
Sasya Syamalam,
Mataram
Vande Mataram.